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THE NATIONS OF TO-DAY

A New History of the World

EDITED BY JOHN BUCHAN

JAPAN

THE NATIONS
OF TO-DAY

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JOHN BUCHAN

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JAPAN

THE NATIONS OF TO-DAY
A New History of the World
EDITED BY JOHN BUCHAN

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN COMPANY

BY

JOSEPH H. LONGFORD, D.Litt.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This series has been undertaken to provide for the ordinary citizen a popular account of the history of his own and other nations, a chronicle of those movements of the past of which the effect is not yet exhausted, and which are still potent for the peace and comfort of the present. The writers conceive history as a living thing of the most urgent consequence to the men of to-day; they regard the world around us as an organic growth dependent upon a long historic ancestry. The modern view of history—apart from the pedantry of certain specialists—is a large view, subordinating the mere vicissitudes of dynasties and parliaments to those more fateful events which are the true milestones of civilisation. Clio has become an active goddess and her eyes range far. History is, of course, like all sciences, the quest for a particular kind of truth, but that word "truth" has been given a generous interpretation. The older type of historian was apt to interest himself chiefly in the doings of kings and statesmen, the campaigns of generals and the contests of parties. These no doubt are important, but they are not the whole, and to insist upon them to the exclusion of all else is to make the past an unfeatured wilderness, where the only personalities are generals on horseback, judges in ermine and monarchs in purple. Nowadays, whatever we may lack in art, we have gained in science. The plain man has come to his own, and, as Lord Acton has put it, "The true historian must now take his meals in the kitchen."

The War brought the meaning of history home to the world. Events which befell long ago suddenly became disruptive forces to shatter a man's ease, and he realised that what had seemed only a phrase in the textbooks might be a thing to die for. The Armistice left an infinity of problems, no one of which could be settled without tracing its roots into the past. Both time and space seemed to have "closed up." Whether we like it or not, our isolation is shattered, and not the remotest nation can now draw in its skirts from its neighbours. The consequence must be that even those who are averse to science, and prefer to settle everything by rule of thumb, will be forced

to reconsider their views. Foreign politics have become again, as they were in the age of Pitt and Castlereagh, of Palmerston and Disraeli, urgent matters for every electorate. The average citizen recognises that the popular neglect of the subject contributed in no small degree to the War, and that problems in foreign affairs are as vital to him as questions of tariff and income tax. Once it used to be believed that a country might be rich while its neighbours were poor; now even the dullest is aware that economically the whole world is tightly bound together, and that the poverty of a part lessens the prosperity of the whole. A merchant finds his profits shrinking because of the rate of exchange in a land which was his chief market; he finds his necessary raw material costly and scarce because of the dislocation of industry in some far-away country. He recognises that no nation is commercially sufficient to itself, and he finds himself crippled, not by the success, but by the failure of his foreign colleagues. It is the same in other matters than commerce. Peace is every man's chief interest, but a partial peace is impossible. The world is so closely linked that one recalcitrant unit may penalise all the others.

In these circumstances it is inevitable that interest in foreign countries, often an unwilling and angry interest, should be compulsory for large classes which up to now have scarcely given the matter a thought. An understanding of foreign conditions—though at first it may not be a very sympathetic understanding—is forced upon us by the needs of our daily life. This understanding, if it is to be of the slightest value, must be based upon some knowledge of history, and Clio will be compelled to descend from the schools to the market-place. Of all the movements of the day none is more hopeful than the spread through all classes of a real, though often incoherent, desire for education. Partly it is a fruit of the War. Men realise that battles were not won by "muddling through"; that as long as we muddled we stuck fast, and that when we won it was because we used our brains to better purpose than our opponents. Partly it is the consequence of the long movement towards self-conscious citizenship, which some call democracy. Most thinking people to-day believe that knowledge spread in the widest commonalty is the only cure for many ills. They believe that education in the most real sense does not stop with school or college; indeed, that true education may only begin when the orthodox curriculum is finished. They believe, further, that this fuller training comes by a man's own efforts and is not necessarily dependent

upon certain advantages in his early years. Finally, they are assured that true education cannot be merely technical or professional instruction; that it must deal in the larger sense with what are called the "humanities." If this diagnosis is correct, then the study of history must play a major part in the equipment of the citizen of the future.

I propose in these few pages to suggest certain reasons why the cultivation of the historical sense is of special value at this moment. The utilitarian arguments are obvious enough, but I would add to them certain considerations of another kind.

Man, as we know, is long-descended, and so are human society and the State. That society is a complex thing, the result of a slow organic growth and no mere artificial machine. In a living thing such as the State growth must be continuous, like the growth of a plant. Every gardener knows that in the tending of plants you cannot make violent changes, that you cannot transplant a well-grown tree at your pleasure from a wooded valley to the bare summit of a hill, that you cannot teach rhododendrons to love lime, or grow plants which need sun and dry soil in a shady bog. A new machine-made thing is simple, but the organic is always subtle and complex. Now, half the mischiefs in politics come from a foolish simplification. Take two familiar conceptions, the "political man" and the "economic man." Those who regard the citizen purely as a political animal, divorce him from all other aspects, moral and spiritual, in framing their theory of the State. In the same way the "economic man" is isolated from all other relations, and, if he is allowed to escape from the cage of economic science into political theory, will work havoc in that delicate sphere. Both are false conceptions, if our problem is to find out the best way to make actual human beings live together in happiness and prosperity. Neither, as a matter of fact, ever existed or could exist, and any polity based upon either would have the harshness and rigidity and weakness of a machine.

We have seen two creeds grow up rooted in these abstractions, and the error of both lies in the fact that they are utterly unhistorical, that they have been framed without any sense of the continuity of history. In what we call Prussianism a citizen was regarded as a cog in a vast machine called the State, to which he surrendered his liberty of judgment and his standard of morals. He had no rights against it and no personality distinct from it. The machine admitted no ethical principles which might interfere with its success, and the

citizen, whatever his private virtues, was compelled to conform to this inverted anarchy. Moreover, the directors of the machine regarded the world as if it were a smooth, flat high-road. If there were hollows and hills created by time, they must be flattened out to make the progress of the machine smoother and swifter. The past had no meaning; all problems were considered on the supposition that human nature was like a mathematical quantity, and that solutions could be obtained by an austere mathematical process. The result was tyranny, a highly efficient tyranny, which nevertheless was bound to break its head upon the complexities of human nature. Such was Prussianism, against which we fought for four years, and which for the time is out of fashion. Bolshevism, to use the convenient word, started with exactly the same view. It believed that you could wipe the slate quite clean and write on it what you pleased, that you could build a new world with human beings as if they were little square blocks in a child's box of bricks. Karl Marx, from whom it derived much of its dogma, interpreted history as only the result of economic forces; he isolated the economic aspect of man from every other aspect and desired to re-create society on a purely economic basis. Bolshevism, though it wandered very far from Marx's doctrine, had a similar point of view. It sought with one sweep of the sponge to blot out all past history, and imagined that it could build its castles of bricks without troubling about foundations. It also was a tyranny, the worse tyranny of the two, perhaps because it was the stupider. It has had its triumphs and its failures, and would now appear to be declining; but it, or something of the sort, will come again, since it represents the eternal instinct of theorists who disregard history, and who would mechanise and unduly simplify human life.

There will always be much rootless stuff in the world. In almost every age the creed which lies at the back of Bolshevism and Prussianism is preached in some form or other. The revolutionary and the reactionary are alike devotees of the mechanical. The safeguard against experiments which can only end in chaos is the wide diffusion of the historical sense, and the recognition that "counsels to which Time hath not been called, Time will not ratify."

The second reason is that a sense of history is a safeguard against another form of abstraction. Ever since the War the world has indulged in a debauch of theorising, and the consequence has been an orgy of catchwords and formulas, which,

unless they are critically examined, are bound to turn political discussion into a desert. The weakening of the substance of many accepted creeds seems to have disposed men to cling more feverishly to their shibboleths. Take any of our contemporary phrases—"self-determination," "liberty," "the right to work," "the right to maintenance," "the proletariat," "class consciousness," "international solidarity," and so forth. They all have a kind of dim meaning, but as they are currently used they have many very different meanings, and these meanings are often contradictory. I think it was Lord Acton who once said he had counted two hundred definitions of "liberty." Abraham Lincoln's words are worth remembering: "The world has never yet had a good definition of the word 'liberty,' and the American people just now are much in want of one. We are all declaring for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. We assume the word 'liberty' to mean that each worker can do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labour, while, on the other hand, it may mean that some man can do as he pleases with other men and the product of other men's labour." Are we not in the same difficulty to-day? Perhaps the worst sinner in this respect is the word "democracy." As commonly used, it has a dozen quite distinct meanings, when it has any meaning at all, and we are all familiar in political discussions with the circular argument—that such and such a measure is good for the people because it is democratic; and if it be asked why it is democratic, the answer is, "Because it is good for the people." "Democratic" really describes that form of government in which the policy of the State is determined and its business conducted by the will of the majority of its citizens, expressed through some regular channel. It is a word which denotes machinery, not purpose. "Popular," often used as an equivalent, means merely that the bulk of the people approve of a particular mode of government. "Liberal," the other assumed equivalent, implies those notions of freedom, toleration and pacific progress which lie at the roots of Western civilisation. The words are clearly not interchangeable. A policy or a government may be popular without being liberal or democratic; there have been highly popular tyrannies; the German policy of 1914 was popular, but it was not liberal, nor was Germany a democracy. America is a democracy, but it is not always liberal; the French Republic has at various times in its history been both liberal and democratic without being popular. Accurately employed, "democratic" describes a

particular method, "popular" an historical fact, "liberal" a quality and an ideal. The study of history will make us chary about the loud, vague use of formulas. It will make us anxious to see catchwords in their historical relations, and will help us to realise the maleficent effect of phrases which have a fine rhetorical appeal, but very little concrete meaning. If political science is to be anything but a vicious form of casuistry it is very necessary to give its terms an exact interpretation, for their slipshod use will tend to create false oppositions and conceal fundamental agreements, and thereby waste the energy of mankind in empty disputation.

The third reason for the study of history is that it enables a man to take a balanced view of current problems, for a memory stored with historical parallels is the best preventive both against panic and over-confidence. Such a view does not imply the hard-and-fast deduction of so-called laws, which was a habit of many of the historians of the nineteenth century. Exact parallels with the past are hard to find, and nothing is easier than to draw false conclusions. A facile philosophy of history is, as Stubbs once said, "in nine cases out of ten a generalisation founded rather on the ignorance of points in which particulars differ, than in any strong grasp of one in which they agree." Precedents from the past have often been used with disastrous results. In our own Civil War the dubious behaviour of the Israelites on various occasions was made an argument for countless blunders and tyrannies. In the same way the French Revolution has been used as a kind of arsenal for bogus parallels, both by revolutionaries and conservatives, and the most innocent reformers have been identified with Robespierre and St. Just. During the Great War the air was thick with these false precedents. In the Gallipoli Expedition, for example, it was possible to draw an ingenious parallel between that affair and the Athenian Expedition to Syracuse, and much needless depression was the consequence. At the outbreak of the Russian Revolution there were many who saw in it an exact equivalent to the Revolution of 1788 and imagined that the new Russian revolutionary armies would be as invincible as those which repelled the invaders of France. There have been eminent teachers in recent years whose mind has been so obsessed with certain superficial resemblances between the third century of the Christian era and our own times that they have prophesied an impending twilight of civilisation. Those of us who have been engaged in arguing the

case for the League of Nations are confronted by its opponents with a dozen inaccurate parallels from history, and the famous plea of the " thin edge of the wedge " is usually based upon a mistaken use of the same armoury.

A wise man will be chary of drawing dapper parallels and interpreting an historical lesson too rigidly. At the same time there are certain general deductions which are sound and helpful. For example, we all talk too glibly of revolution, and many imagine that, whether they like it or not, a clean cut can be made, and the course of national life turned suddenly and violently in a different direction. But history gives no warrant for such a view. There have been many thousands of revolutions since the world began; nearly all have been the work of minorities, often small minorities; and nearly all, after a shorter or longer period of success, have utterly failed. The French Revolution altered the face of the world, but only when it had ceased to be a revolution and had developed into an absolute monarchy. So with the various outbreaks of 1848. So conspicuously with the Russian Revolution of to-day, which has developed principles the exact opposite of those with which it started. The exception proves the rule, as we see in the case of our own English Revolution of 1688. Properly considered, that was not a revolution, but a reaction. The revolution had been against the personal and unlimited monarchy of the Stuarts. In 1688 there was a return to the normal development of English society, which had been violently broken. It may fairly be said that a revolution to be successful must be a reaction—that is, it must be a return to an organic historical sequence, which for some reason or other has been interrupted.

Parallels are not to be trusted, if it is attempted to elaborate them in detail, but a sober and scientific generalisation may be of high practical value. At the close of the Great War many people indulged in roseate forecasts of a new world—a land fit for heroes to live in, a land inspired with the spirit of the trenches, a land of co-operation and national and international goodwill. Such hasty idealists were curiously blind to the lessons of the past, and had they considered what happened after the Napoleonic wars they might have found a juster perspective. With a curious exactness the history of the three years after Waterloo has repeated itself to-day. There were the same economic troubles—the same rise in the cost of living, with which wages could not keep pace; the same shrinking of foreign exports owing to difficulties of

exchange; the same cataclysmic descent of agricultural prices from the high levels of the war; the same hostility to profiteers; the same revolt against high taxation, and the same impossibility of balancing budgets without it. The Property tax then was the equivalent of our Excess Profits tax, and it is interesting to note that it was abolished in spite of the Government because the commercial community rose against it. There was the same dread of revolution, and the same blunders in the handling of labour, and there was relatively far greater suffering. Yet the land, in spite of countless mistakes, passed through the crisis and emerged into the sunlight of prosperity. In this case historic precedent is not without its warrant for hope.

One charge has been brought against the study of history—that it may kill reforming zeal. This has been well put by Lord Morley: "The study of all the successive stages and beliefs, institutions, laws, forms of art, only too soon grows into a substitute for practical criticism of all these things upon their merits and in themselves. Too exclusive attention to dynamic aspects weakens the energetic duties of the static. The method of history is used merely like any other scientific instrument. There is no more conscience in your comparative history than there is in comparative anatomy. You arrange ideals in classes and series; but the classified ideal loses its vital spark and halo." There is justice in the warning, for a man may easily fall into the mood in which he sees everything as a repetition of the past, and the world bound on the iron bed of necessity, and may therefore lose his vitality and zest in the practical work of to-day. It is a danger to be guarded against, but to me it seems a far less urgent menace than its opposite—the tendency to forget the past and to adventure in a raw new world without any chart to guide us. History gives us a kind of chart, and we dare not surrender even a small rushlight in the darkness. The hasty reformer who does not remember the past will find himself condemned to repeat it.

There is little to sympathise with in the type of mind which is always inculcating a lack-lustre moderation, and which has attained to such a pitch of abstraction that it finds nothing worth doing and prefers to stagnate in ironic contemplation. Nor is there more to be said for the temper which is always halving differences in a problem and trying to find a middle course. The middle course, mechanically defined, may be the wrong course. The business of a man steering up a difficult estuary is to keep to the deep-water channel, and that channel

may at one hour take him near the left shore and at another hour close to the right shore. The path of false moderation sticks to the exact middle of the channel, and will almost certainly land the pilot on a sandbank. These are the vices that spring from a narrow study of history and the remedy is a broader and juster interpretation. At one season it may be necessary to be a violent innovator, and at another to be a conservative; but the point is that a clear objective must be there, and some chart of the course to steer by. History does not provide a perfect chart, but it gives us something better than guess-work. It is a bridle on crude haste; but it is not less a spur for timidity and false moderation. Above all it is a guide and a comforter to sane idealism. "The true Past departs not," Carlyle wrote, "nothing that was worthy in the Past departs; no Truth or Goodness realised by man ever dies, or can die; but all is still here, and, recognised or not, lives and works through endless change."

JOHN BUCHAN.

TO

MY WIFE

WHO LIVED SEVENTEEN YEARS

AND

MY DAUGHTERS WHO WERE BORN AND PASSED

THEIR CHILDHOOD IN JAPAN,

NONE OF WHOM CAN RECALL ONE UNHAPPY DAY

THAT WAS DUE TO EITHER THE COUNTRY

OR ITS PEOPLE.

J. H. L.

PREFACE

Among the multitude of books on Japan there are some—not very many—specially devoted to history, and the works of Brinkley, Murdoch, Griffis, Murray and some others are authorities on the subject of the highest order. Older works of great merit are those of the Dutch historian, Kaempfer, and the learned Jesuits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Modern writers, no less learned, such as Satow, Aston and Chamberlain, have written or translated from native originals most valuable monographs on special epochs or incidents, while the two last mentioned have, by their scholarly translation of the *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan) and of the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters)—the oldest surviving books in the Japanese language—provided material for the study of history in the Dark Ages and at the dawn of civilisation. In all these the enquirer will find ample information, so far as their scope permits; but some of them are no longer available, except in very well-equipped libraries, and most demand a degree of attentive or even analytical reading which only earnest students may be prepared to devote to them.

The present writer has already provided, in three distinct works, popular histories of both Old and New Japan and of Japan's relations with Korea; and he now ventures to add to the existing three a fourth work, written in similar style, and giving a succinct narrative of the epochs of Japanese history and concise descriptions of their most striking events and most remarkable personages. Owing to limitations of space several events, notably the early invasions of Korea and the Christian persecution, have been but briefly referred to in this volume. On the other hand, much greater space is devoted to the interesting epoch of the Ashikaga dynasty of Shoguns, which before was passed over with scant detail. No one, therefore, who has read any of the writer's previous works need fear on that account a waste of time in reading this.

So far from the study of Japanese history being a waste of

time on the part of Englishmen of the present day, it is not too much to say that their leisure hours cannot be better used than in acquiring a knowledge of the mentality and of the economic and military conditions of a people on whom the future well-being of the British Empire, in many of its aspects, eminently depends. Japan is a rising commercial and industrial Power, and though she is still, as such, far, very far, behind Great Britain, and her progress is still hampered by vices in her methods that are the legacies of an evil past and have not yet been wholly eradicated from her system, her record during two generations—a moment in the lifetime of a nation—is such as to render her ambition to attain equality with the foremost Powers of the world far from extravagant. Every effort is being made to that end, and necessarily so, in order that she may be able to provide for her population, annually growing at an increasing ratio, and for her national expenditure, which is mounting upwards at a still greater annual ratio. Great Britain may contemplate Japan as a commercial rival (in all quarters of the globe) that cannot be indifferently regarded at the present day and who, in a future that is not very remote, may be found a competitor that will test her industry, ingenuity and enterprise to the very utmost.

If Japan must still take a backward place in the commercial arena of the world, she can already claim one in the very front rank of the great military Powers. Indeed, she is perhaps already the greatest, when judged not only by the size and quality of the forces that are at her immediate disposal but by the completeness of her organisation in every possible detail, and by the provisions she makes to meet all contingencies long before they can arise. As a nation, she is saturated with the spirit of militarism. As an ambitious people, proud of their history and of their religion, which teaches them that they are the beloved of the gods in whom they place their faith, the first people to be created on earth and still the bravest and the best, they consider the hegemony of Asia as their rightful heritage and its attainment to be the goal of national effort in whatever form it is contemplated. That Asia is one and indivisible, its component parts united by the bond of a common civilisation, is a doctrine that is freely promulgated, and its logical inference is that Japan should be its missionary to-day and its buttress hereafter. Great Britain now holds her Far Eastern colonies, the great commercial depots of Hongkong and Singapore, entirely on the sufferance of Japan. From either she could be ousted as speedily as were the Germans

from Kiaochow, and it is even possible that Japan might not be always indifferent, in view of her new doctrine, to events in Great Britain's Indian Empire. The pact of the Pacific binds her as it does ourselves, but the history of the most Christian nations shows how illusory are international covenants as instruments for the limitation of national covetousness or ambition; and while Japan is to-day our firm and trusted friend, who will most loyally observe the terms of all her engagements, can anyone dare to cast a stone at her if, in the future, she finds it imperative in her own interests to strengthen herself at the expense of other Powers in the Far East? It behoves Great Britain, therefore, to retain her goodwill and to that end to neglect no means of acquiring a knowledge of Japan and all that pertains to her, no less exact and extensive than that which Japan has already acquired of Great Britain and is now daily using to the fullest extent. Whoever contributes to that knowledge in any of its details, and history is one of the most important, is rendering good service to the State, and it is in that spirit that the writer has compiled the present volume.

He should add that in writing it he has freely used with the consent, very kindly given, of the editors of both journals, articles that have from time to time appeared in the *Quarterly Review* and *Nineteenth Century*, and that he is indebted for assistance, given with equal kindness, to His Excellency the Japanese Ambassador and several other Japanese gentlemen in London.

JOSEPH H. LONGFORD.

KING'S COLLEGE.
April 1923.

NOTE

THIS volume of the series has been prepared under the general supervision of Major-General Lord Edward Gleichen.

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A—HISTORY

INTRODUCTORY

I. GEOGRAPHICAL

JAPAN is an Island Empire, consisting of a long, narrow, continuous chain of islands, nearly six hundred in number, which occupy on the east of the Asiatic Continent and on the west of the Pacific Ocean a position analogous to that of the British Islands on the west of the European Continent and on the east of the Atlantic Ocean. They extend from 50° 56′ to 21° 45′ north latitude, or, to take approximate parallels in Europe, from about the latitude of the south of England to that of the Cape Verde Islands. The extreme longitudinal limits are 156° 32′ and 119° 20′ east longitude. Between these limits lie not only the Islands of Japan but her continental possessions, Korea and the southern part of the peninsula of Liao Tung, including the great fortress known to Europeans as Port Arthur.

Four large islands and a little more than four hundred smaller inhabited islands of various sizes constitute what is called Japan proper. The four large islands are Hondo, or Honshu, with an area of 99,373 square miles, the largest and most populous, containing all the greatest cities and now termed the "mainland" in official publications; Hokkaido, or Northern Sea Circuit, in the north, better known to Europeans by its old name of Yezo, with an area of 30,148 square miles; Shikoku, the island of the "four provinces," with an area of 6,461 square miles; and Kyushu, the island of the "nine provinces," with an area of 13,778 square miles, in the south. Of the other islands, whose areas are not included in the above figures, Awaji, Iki, Tsushima, Oki, and Sado are the most noteworthy, each having its own interesting aspects in history, and all the five, together with Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu, forming the "Eight Great Islands of Japan," the first part of the world to be evolved out of chaos by the creators. Hokkaido was long a *terra incognita*, almost entirely abandoned

to the surviving remnants of the Ainu, the autochthons of all Japan, and it was not till the middle of the nineteenth century that the Japanese, alarmed by the threats of Russian aggression, began to give serious attention to its occupation and to the development of all its great resources of mines, fisheries, and forests, and of its luxurious soil.

In addition to the principal islands and the small islands adjacent to each, there are four special archipelagos: the Kuriles, called by the Japanese Chishima, or The Thousand Isles, thirty-one in number, bleak, barren islands, with arctic climate and vegetation, and sparsely populated by fishermen; the Pescadores (Hokoto), sixty-three in number, off the south-west coast of Formosa, of great strategic importance as commanding the southern approaches to the China Sea; the Riukiu or Luchu (Okinawa), fifty-five in number, extending from Kyushu to Formosa, and the Bonin (Ogasawara), twenty in number, far away to the south-east in the Pacific Ocean. The total number of all the islands, both great and small, excluding those which are uninhabited or are mere rocks, is nearly six hundred, and their entire area 173,786 square miles (52,400 more than that of the United Kingdom).

During the last twenty-six years Japan has acquired very important colonies. The Chinese war of 1894–95 gave her Formosa (of which the Pescadores are an administrative adjunct), an island off the south coast of China, with an area of 13,795 square miles and with great potentialities of wealth in agriculture, mines, forests and fisheries. At the close of the Russian war in 1904–5 she acquired, as part of her spoil, the southern half of the island of Sakhalin, and the emasculation of Russia has now perhaps given her the whole island. In 1910 she annexed the ancient kingdom of Korea. The Great War gave her the opportunity of making herself at least the temporary mistress of the province of Shantung, and at its close conferred on her the mandate over all the four groups of islands in the Northern Pacific that formerly belonged to Germany.[1] Peaceful penetration, steadily, efficiently and determinedly pursued, has given her an influence that virtually amounts to mastery over Manchuria and Mongolia, and the maritime province of Siberia is now not free from her domination. The exact significance of the term "mandate" has yet to be proved, and Japan has now (April 1923) completed the retrocession of Shantung to China; but her disposition is not to release her hold on what she has once grasped, and she is undoubtedly

[1] I.e. Caroline, Pellew (Palau), Marianne (Ladrones) and Marshall Islands.

a great and growing colonial power, with unlimited ambition, both military and economic, for territorial expansion. In the colonies she has already acquired her economic success is undoubted, but her methods have not won her the goodwill of her new subjects.

All the islands of Japan are mountainous in the extreme, scarcely less so than is Switzerland, and at least seven-eighths of the whole area consist of mountains or hills unsuitable for cultivation. Mount Morrison (Niitaka—New High Mount) and Mount Sylvia (Setsu-zan—Snowy Mountain), both in Formosa, are the two highest in the Empire, but Mount Fuji in the mainland, the pride of Japan, the joy of its poets and of its artists of every grade, the most peerlessly beautiful mountain in the whole wide world, is 12,387 feet. None of the mountains are covered with eternal snow, as in Switzerland, but they are everywhere, outside the few great plains, rising, some in gradual slopes, some in abrupt precipices from the shores of the sea, alternating with narrow, deep, and precipitous valleys, all, both mountains and valleys, being studded with evergreen trees whose foliage, with its varying tints through the changing seasons, gives infinite charm to the whole land.

There are several plains of considerable extent in Hokkaido, and four in the mainland; two of the latter, the Kwanto and the Kinai, are frequently mentioned in history, and both of them are still more important as the sites of the great cities of the Empire. The Kwanto (east of the Barrier) comprises the eight provinces round Tokyo, the capital, which lie to the east of the Hakone mountains, the barrier provided by nature between the eastern and western provinces which, throughout the Middle Ages, were in almost constant feud. They support a population of over six million people and contain, in addition to the capital, the great commercial city of Yokohama. The Kinai, or Home Provinces, with a population of two and a half millions, are the five provinces round Kyoto, the ancient capital, the hallowed home of the Emperors throughout ten centuries, which may be said to be the cradle of the Japanese people, and which now contain, as well as the old capital, the great commercial and industrial cities of Osaka and Kobe. In Kyushu there is another great plain known as Tsukushi, which contains the most extensive coalfields in Japan, though, in this respect, the island finds a strong rival in Hokkaido. In the south of Kyushu are the two historic cities of Nagasaki and Kagoshima.

In a land of Japan's configuration the navigable rivers are necessarily few and suitable only for the passage of the smallest

craft. There is not one that, viewed from even a very moderate continental standard, can be called large; but rivers are as omnipresent as the mountains, and in many places furnish an abundant water-power that is yearly becoming more subdued to industrial requirements. In winter and autumn these rivers degenerate into meagre streamlets in the midst of wide, pebble-covered beds, but after the melting of the winter snows or the heavy rains of summer they become, not seldom within the lapse of a very few hours, raging torrents that overflow and spread devastation in the fields along miles and miles of their banks. Floods are of frequent occurrence, and form one of the many perils of nature which have afflicted Japan throughout all ages.

Many of the mountains are volcanoes in vigorous activity. Many more are, like Fuji, supposed to be extinct, but no one can feel sure that their smouldering fires may not again some day, with very short warning, burst forth with all their old destructive fury. Earthquakes are very frequent, and often terribly destructive both to life and property. It is said that in all Japan there is a daily average of four earthquakes, with one shock sufficiently destructive to be called disastrous every six years. "Japanese history," Professor Chamberlain says, "is a concatenation of earthquake disasters exceeded only by those which have desolated South America." Earthquakes are often followed by great tidal waves no less destructive on the coasts than are the earthquakes in the inland districts.

The seas immediately surrounding the coasts, especially in the south, are among the roughest in the world, swept by storms of which those who only know the western seas can form but a faint conception, while the northern islands are the home of fogs of impenetrable density, "fogs which are relieved only by furious storms in autumn and a wintry sea charged with ice." The Pacific Ocean loses all claim to its title when it approaches the eastern shores of Japan, while the Japan Sea, which washes the western coasts, has never ceased to be as restless and turbulent as were the fighting samurai of the Middle Ages. The terrible rotary storms known as typhoons are regular visitants: at least four or five occur every summer, spreading destruction both on sea and land. Once a typhoon saved the Empire on the only occasion on which it was seriously threatened by a foreign foe, and then it was called "The Divine Wind of Ise." Ise is the Mecca of Japan, and it was from it that the typhoon was sent on that occasion by the Gods of Heaven, not to destroy but to save their own beloved country.

If nature appears in some of her most dread-inspiring aspects, there is no other country in the world in which she displays more lavishly or more universally all her brightest and best beauties of sea and land, of mountains and valleys, of lakes and rivers, of foliage and flowers. The Japanese islands are the most beautiful in the world. In them Nature simply riots in her own loveliness. The atmosphere is of crystalline clearness; the seas, studded with countless pine-clad islets, are by day of azure blue and by night radiant with phosphorescent fires. In the far north, fields may be seen covered with lilies-of-the-valley as fields in England are with daisies; in the south, mountains show a blaze of gorgeous colour, from base to summit, with flowering azaleas of many hues; in central Japan, the tiger-lily proudly displays its harlot beauties in thick profusion amidst the bamboo-grass that covers the lower hills. And everywhere each season has its own special flowers, the plum, the peony, the wistaria, the iris, the lotus, and the chrysanthemum, and all in their turn are the pride of the nation and the subject of merry-makings, in which family groups of the most laughter-loving people in the world, high and low, classes and masses, absolutely revel in abandonment to innocent pleasures.

Fairest of all flowers is the cherry, whose delicate pink and white blossoms spread their fragrance in sunny April in groves of enchanting beauty that may well suggest a fairyland on earth. The cherry is an emblem of what life should be. Its beauty is transcendent while it lives, but its life is short. The first strong wind scatters its delicate blossoms in dense, snow-like showers on the ground, and then all is soon over. So should life be: bright and sunny while it lasts, but ever ready for sacrifice when the hour comes to demand it. The beauties of their native land, their history and their religion have all combined to form the Japanese character that was formerly the attribute of the samurai, but is now the universal property of the nation. In it loyalty, patriotism, fidelity, self-abnegation are the most striking attributes, and in it the pleasure-loving spirit, which is nature's product, is combined with a rigid stoicism, engendered by the most austere principles of Buddhism and by the ethics of Confucianism, that enables any fate in life to be met with uncomplaining resignation, any pain to be borne without a murmur, any sorrow to be accepted without a tear.

History affords no greater contrast in the fates of neighbouring nations, as affected by their geographical situation, than that

presented by Korea and Japan. Korea, separated from Japan on her east by straits only 120 miles in width, with Tsushima, the "Island of the Port," as a mid-sea resting-place; with the great Empire of China on her western frontier, and on her northern the fierce Manchurian and Mongolian bandits who in turn overran both Korea and China; and in modern years with Russia, in the most aggressive period of her career, added as a Frontier-Power on the north-east, has been through all ages the battle-ground of invaders who, if they were not fighting Korea, were fighting against each other on her soil. She was the Belgium of the Far East; but Belgium, in the worst stages of her history, even when under the heels of the Huns of 1914, never suffered one tithe of the horrors which fell upon Korea both in ancient and modern days. On the other hand, Japan, secure within the ramparts of her stormy and fog-ridden seas, has never known and never feared invasion, and as she has been through all the long centuries while she stood isolated in a remote and unknown region of the world, proud, confident, fearless, and resolute, so she stands to-day when she is, as it were, but just across the road from the most powerful nations of the West, and in constant communion with them. She is absolutely impregnable. No Western Power, no possible combination of Western Powers, could vitally injure her. Even supposing her navy were swept from the high seas, what then? Except on the northern coasts of the mainland, which are entirely unprotected from the great rollers of the Pacific and of the Japan Sea, and where landing is impossible at most, and difficult at all, times, the large islands are everywhere indented with harbours and narrow inlets, their entrances covered by small outlying islands, and within surrounded by high and steep hills.

An enemy might attempt to blockade the huge coast-line—a feat the thought of which would have made Nelson stand aghast; the Japanese torpedo-boats and submarines would only require to remain securely hidden in their harbours till the blockading ships, sooner or later, had been battered and scattered by a storm, and then, in darkness or in fog, they could sally forth. Our knowledge of what they did in the Chinese and Russian wars, when all conditions were as much against them as they would be in their favour when their own coasts were blockaded, will enable us to form some idea of the fate which would befall half-disabled ships upon the sea before their attack. And again, suppose not only that the blockade were successful, but that the enemy succeeded in conveying an invading army across the stormy seas and

landed it at some chosen spot, within apparent striking distance of one of the great towns, what would be its fate? The geographical conditions of their islands would give the defenders overwhelming advantages. No country could be imagined more adapted to vigorous guerrilla warfare, that could be carried on with the utmost security to the defenders, intimate with every path and as agile as chamois in their own hills and mountains, and with infinite peril to the invaders. But Japan need not rely on guerrilla warfare for her defence. Her army has conclusively shown itself to be one of the most efficient fighting-machines in the world, and within a very few more years it will have attained a strength of four and a half millions of fully-trained men, every individual unit of whom will have been imbued from his earliest boyhood with all the fighting spirit of "Old Japan." Cannot a nation in such a position bid defiance to all the world and proceed on whatever course its ambition or interests may suggest, secure from all interference, no matter from what quarter it may be threatened? Her natural situation and the spirit of her people have indeed most emphatically combined to make Japan "a Great Power."

II. HISTORICAL

The Japanese people believe, with unquestioning and ineradicable faith, that they as a nation descend from the Gods of Heaven, and that Japan was the first land to be created on earth. The story of the creation of the world and of man is told in two historical works, the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) and the *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan). These works were compiled in the eighth century, and they survive in their complete form to the present day. They are not only the oldest extant histories of Japan, but the oldest authentic examples of the national literature. Japan did not acquire the art of writing until the fifth century of the Christian era, and the contents of both works, prior to that century, are therefore founded on oral tradition and are entitled only to such credit for the mundane events described in them as oral tradition, transmitted through ten centuries, deserves, even when, as was the case in Japan, the medium was a class of professional reciters with highly cultivated and hereditary memories. Only the *Nihongi* provides a chronology. It is meticulous in its dates, but the investigations of modern scholars have shown that so far as it relates to the first thousand years of earthly history it is purely the product of the compilers' imagi-

nations; whilst, in itself, it contains many glaring contradictions. With all their defects the value of both volumes, as a fountain of information on Early Japan, its myths, legends, poetry, and history, is unquestionable, and the *Nihongi* in its later chapters becomes real history. The two works are the national Bibles, the foundation on which is built the structure of Shintoism—the Way of the Gods—the national religion which has existed from primeval times. Philosophers and scientists may and do reject in their minds the story of the Creation and of the age of the gods as told in them, but they rarely venture to give public expression to their scepticism, and the story in all its details continues to be accepted in its literal accuracy by the mass of the people, just as faithfully as is the Biblical story of the Creation by very many good people of all classes, high and low, educated or uneducated, among ourselves.

If a limited degree of incredulity is attached to the story of the Creation, no modern scepticism or materialism serves to shake Japanese faith in the story, as told in the two works, of the divine origin of their Imperial line, which has held the throne in unbroken succession for twenty-six centuries.

The Emperor on the throne is the direct descendant of the Gods of Heaven, their Vicegerent on earth, all-wise and all-powerful, whose dynasty has endured in an unbroken line for ages eternal and is for ever immutable as Heaven itself. So long as Heaven and earth endure, his descendants shall continue to rule with an all-seeing wisdom that ensures success to every undertaking, and is so perfect that it can only be an attribute of divinity. It is through his guidance that all that Japan has ever achieved either in peace or in war has been accomplished, and no general or statesman in Christian history has ever in his hour of triumph thanked God for His help with more sincerity than the great leaders of Japan in our own time, whether in the Cabinet or in battle, have ascribed all they have done solely to the merits and influence of the reigning Emperor, whose virtues are a direct inheritance from his divine ancestors. In both the divine descent and the virtues of the Imperial line all the Japanese people have some share, and thus it is that "they are distinguished by a nobility of character and self-sacrifice that is unknown in all other countries of the earth."

"Every family in Japan claims descent from the Gods, who followed the Grandson of the Sun Goddess in his descent upon earth by the eight-rayed pathway of the clouds, thus intensifying the national spirit which clusters round the unity of the throne." (Okakura.)

These are the words of a modern philosopher and cultured writer, and they state concisely the belief that is firmly planted in the hearts of all Japanese of every degree in life.

Shintoism, the origin of this faith, may appear to be nothing but a conglomeration of superstitions that are an outrage on credulity, unredeemed by any of the essential moral and philosophic characteristics of the great religions of the world—Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism; but it teaches the worship of ancestors and of nature, from which spring loyalty to the Sovereign and love of the islands of Japan, the most beautiful of all lands, and still the most loved and favoured by the gods. Shintoism has no dogma and no code of morals, but such is the innate goodness of the Japanese people, who inherit righteousness, benevolence, truth, and purity from their ancestors, so infinitely does their "Way of the Gods" surpass the systems of all other countries, that neither code nor dogma nor any complicated system of morals is required by them. Their simple faith is in itself enough. It is this religion which inspired the statesmen of Modern Japan, from the first day of its regeneration, with the ambition to make their country, after its long isolation, known and respected throughout the world, an ambition which now aspires to make "Great Japan" not only supreme in Asia, but the greatest country on earth in all aspects—military, political, industrial, and commercial—an ambition the full realisation of which is by no means beyond the limits of human possibility.

It is from these two books that the story is taken of the cosmogony and mythology of Japan, of the age of the Gods, prior to the establishment of a sovereignty on earth; of the dark ages of earthly history beginning with the foundation of the Empire, when there is some basis of truth, though it is still mingled with myths and legends of miraculous events; and finally of what may be called the Dawn of History, when, towards the close of both volumes, genuine history is at last reached and we come to a trustworthy narrative of the events of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries of the Christian era.

CHAPTER I

THE AGE OF THE GODS

ACCORDING to Japanese cosmogony Heaven and Earth were originally not separated.

"They formed a chaotic mass like an egg, which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out and became Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element sank and became Earth. Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was subsequently established." (*Nihongi.*)

Three deities were produced on the plain of the High Heaven, the first and greatest of the three being transformed into a God in human form from something resembling a reed-shoot which was generated in the void between Heaven and Earth. The others were pure males, spontaneously developed by the operation of the principle of Heaven. They died and were followed by two other gods, also spontaneously developed, who in their turn also died. These five gods are distinguished as the "Heavenly Deities." They were followed by seven generations of gods, the first two of which were, like their predecessors, spontaneously developed and solitary males, but the remaining five were produced in pairs, male and female, brothers and younger sisters, each couple forming one generation.

The last couple were Izanagi and Izanami, "the male who invites" and "the female who invites," who became the creators of the earth, which still floated about, in an inchoate mass, not far below the heavens, "as a sporting fish floats upon the surface of the water." These two deities were commissioned by all the gods of Heaven "to consolidate and give birth to the drifting earth," and a jewelled lance was given to them to aid them in their task. So they stood upon the floating bridge of Heaven and, thrusting down the lance into the space beneath them, they found the ocean. The brine which dripped from the point of the spear as they withdrew it congealed and became an island which received the name of Ono-goro-jima (self-condensed-island). Then they descended from Heaven and,

erecting an eight-fathom palace, "dwelt upon the island." "They also set up in it the pillar of Heaven, rendering Onogoro the pillar of the centre of the land." Soon the distinctions of sex were revealed to them,

"So they went round the pillar separately, in opposite directions, the brother turning by the left and the sister by the right, and when they met, the female deity spoke first and said, 'How beautiful, a lovely youth.' The male deity then answered and said, 'How beautiful, a lovely maiden.'"

Finally they learned what physical love was from a pair of magpies, who flew to a rock near them, and they became husband and wife. Their first child was the leech, born out of time, whom they straightway placed in a reed-boat and sent adrift. Their next was the island of Awaji (foam). This also was not included in the number of their children. So they returned again to Heaven and fully reported the circumstances to the gods. Then the gods divined by the greater divination and instructed them, "It was by reason of the woman having spoken first. Ye had best return thither again." Thereupon the two deities divined a fitting time and went down to earth and again circumambulated the pillar. The male deity on this occasion spoke first when they met, and they dwelt together and produced many children.

Their first children were the islands of Japan, eight in number; then gods of the rivers and the mountains, the herbs and trees, were all born of them. Their last child was the God of Fire, and in giving him birth the mother died and departed to the land of darkness. Izanagi mourned for her, weeping and lamenting, "Oh, that I should have given my beloved younger sister in exchange for a single child," and in his wrath he drew the ten-span sword, with which he was girt, and cut the Fire God into three pieces, each of which was transformed into a god. More deities were born from the blood which dripped from his sword. Then, eager to look once more upon his beloved one, he followed her to the land of darkness, and she, raising the gate of the palace, came forth to meet him. He besought her to return with him, as the lands they had made, he and she together, were not yet finished. But she replied:

"Why, my lord and husband, is thy coming so late? I have already eaten of the food of this land of darkness. But, as thou, my noble and splendid elder brother, hast honoured me by coming here, I will consult the deities of the land. Do not look upon me."

With these words she re-entered the palace, but as she remained a long time, he became impatient and, making a

torch of the end tooth of his many-toothed comb and lighting it at a single light, he followed and looked upon her. The sight was so horrible that he fled in terror. She was already a mass of putrefaction, and dwelling in her putrid body were the eight gods of thunder.

Izanami reproached him, "Why didst thou not observe that with which I charged thee? Now I am put to shame." So she sent the eight ugly females of the land of darkness to pursue and slay him, and they were followed by the eight gods of thunder, with 1,500 warriors. Izanagi escaped from them all, checking the pursuit of the ugly females by flinging to them fruit which they tarried to eat, and reached the even pass of the land of darkness, which he blocked with a "thousand-man-pull rock," and so ended the pursuit. Then, having made his escape, it was meet that he should cleanse his body from the pollutions of the foul and filthy place he had visited, so he went to a river in the province of Hiuga. Twelve divinities were born from the clothing and jewels which he discarded before entering the river, and fourteen more as he performed his lustrations in it. The last three to be born were Ama-terasu-o-mi-Kami—the great and august Goddess who shines in the Heaven—the Sun-Goddess, born from the washing of his left eye; Tsukiyomi-no-Mikoto—the august moon-night-possessor—the Moon-God, from the washing of the right eye; and from the washing of the nose, Susa-no-o-no-Mikoto—the august impetuous male god—the God of the Ocean. Izanagi, proud of these three gods and exulting in their beauty and brilliancy, conferred on them the government of the universe—on the Sun-Goddess that of the plain of the High Heavens; on the Moon-God the eight-hundredfold tides of the Ocean plain, and on the impetuous male that of the world. The first two at once obediently assumed the functions conferred upon them by their father, but the impetuous male, who was already of full age, with a beard eight spans long, failed to do so.

"He was always weeping, wailing, and fuming with rage. Izanagi therefore inquired, 'Why dost thou continually weep in this way?' He answered and said, 'I wish to follow my mother to the land of darkness, and it is for that reason I weep.' Then Izanagi was filled with detestation of him, and said, 'Go even as thy heart bids thee.' So he forthwith drove him away."

Izanagi, having completed his task of creating the Islands of Japan and the Gods to rule over them, ascended to Heaven

and made report of his mission. There he dwelt in "the smaller palace of the Sun."

Susa-no-o submitted to his decree of expulsion, but expressed the wish to meet his sister once more before parting from her for ever. So he again ascended to the plains of High Heaven; but when there, his conduct became "exceedingly rude," so much so that the Goddess, justly indignant, retired into the "Rock Cave of Heaven" and fastened its rock door.

Heaven and Earth were shrouded in blackest darkness. There was no difference between day and night, and everywhere there were portents of woe. Then the eight myriads of gods took counsel together on the banks of the "Tranquil River of Heaven" and, on the advice of the God "Thought-combiner," they made an eight-hand mirror, a rosary of five hundred Yasaka jewels, and soft offerings of blue and white cloth. All were hung on the branches of "a five-hundred-branched true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu." Then Ame-no-Uzume, the terrible Goddess of Heaven, skilfully performed a mimic dance; a liturgy, with lavish and earnest words of praise, was recited by Ame-no-Koyane, the god of the small roof of Heaven, while Ta-jikara-o-no-kami, the god of the strong hand, stood by the rock door. All the assembled deities laughed in unison, so that the plain of High Heaven shook with their laughter, and the Sun-Goddess, hearing both the laughter and the beautiful language of the liturgy, wondered why there should be such merriment in Heaven in her absence. So, with her august hand, she opened the rock door and peeped out and asked the reason of it. She was told they had a goddess whose beauty surpassed her own, and all therefore rejoiced and were glad. Then she was shown the mirror; and while she was gazing with wonder on her own beauty reflected in it, she gradually advanced more and more through the door, until at last the god of the strong hand took her august hand and led her forth. Then the god of the little roof and another "at once drew a limit by means of a bottom-tied rope across the door" and begged her not to return into the cave. Her radiance once more shone through Heaven and Earth and all the gods were glad.

Susa-no-o, convicted of his crimes, was punished by a fine of 1,000 tables of votive offerings; his beard and the nails of his hands and toes were cut off, and then he was made to recite the Great Purification liturgy. Finally he was banished from Heaven in accordance with the law of Divine banishment. He descended to Earth, suffering bitterly, and pro-

ceeded to the head waters of the river Hi in the province of Izumo. There he found an old man and an old woman weeping and lamenting over a young maiden who sat between them, the last of eight daughters, seven of whom had been devoured, year after year, by an eight-forked serpent of monstrous size, extending over eight valleys and eight hills, and now the fatal time had come for his visit, and there was no escape for her. Susa-no-o, having received the daughter from her parents, caused them to make eight cupboards, and to place in each a tub of eightfold *saké* and to await the serpent's coming. It appeared in due course, and when it came, each head drank one tub of *saké*, so that it became drunk and fell asleep. Then Susa-no-o cut the serpent to pieces with his ten-span sword, and as he did so he found a sword in its tail. This is the sword known in later history as the " Grass Mower," but originally as " the Sword of the gathering Clouds of Heaven."

Being a divine sword, Susa-no-o gave it up to the Gods of Heaven. He then built a palace in Izumo, where he dwelt together with his bride. From the union was born the god Onamuji, the great Name-Possessor, his birth, however, being variously stated in different versions as occurring in the first, fifth, sixth, or eighth generation in direct descent from Susa-no-o. Be this as it may, Onamuji had eighty brothers, all of whom were anxious, as was also he himself, to marry the Princess Inaba. The brothers made many attempts on his life, but he escaped with the aid of the White Hare of Inaba, which he rescued after it had been cruelly treated by his brothers. He finally slew them all, married the Princess and established himself in Izumo as O-Kuni-Nushi, Master of the Great Land. Prior to this he had visited Susa-no-o, who had gone to the Nether Land, to consult him, but he was very ill received, and only rescued by Susa-no-o's daughter, the Princess Firewood, whom he also married, as well as other brides—by whom he had many children.

Once when he was picnicking on the seashore, a dwarf dressed in the skins of geese came sailing over the waves in a boat fashioned of gourds. The dwarf proved to be the god Sukuna Bikona, one of the one thousand five hundred children of Taka-no-Musubi, of the original Trinity of the Heavenly deities. Onamuji picked him up and placed him on the palm of his hand, and the two became associated in the development of the land so far as it had been left incomplete by the creators :

" With united strength and one heart they constructed the sub-celestial world. Then for the sake of the visible race of man as well as for beasts

they determined the method of healing diseases. They also, in order to do away with the calamities of birds, beasts, and creeping things, established means for their prevention and control. . . . After this Sukuna Bikona went to Cape Kumano and eventually proceeded to the Everlasting Land."

Onamuji, left alone, but aided by a new guardian spirit which also came to him over the sea, illuminating it with a divine radiance, repaired all the imperfections found in the land, reduced all turbulent elements to submission so that there was nothing left that was not compliant, and finally, establishing himself in Izumo, declared: "It is I, and I alone, who now govern this Central Land of Reed Plains." Notwithstanding this boast, he proved unable to preserve peace. "Evil deities, violent and savage, buzzed like flies. There were even trees and herbs which could speak, and so the Gods of Heaven, once more assembled in council in the dry bed of the Tranquil River, decided that his sovereignty should be taken from him and be conferred on one of themselves. Ninigi, the grandson of the Sun-Goddess, was selected for the office, and three embassies were sent from Heaven to Earth to acquaint Onamuji with this decision and to have the evil Gods expelled and subdued.

The first two failed, but two heroic Deities, Take-mika-zuchi ("the brave thunder") and Futsu Nushi ("the snapping-sound-master"), then volunteered their services and descended to Izumo, and there, seated cross-legged on the points of their swords, which were stuck hilt downwards in the earth, they obtained from Onamuji the cession of his sovereignty and its confirmation from his two sons. The land was then purged from all the rebellious deities who had disturbed it, and the way was at last clear for the Heavenly Grandchild to take up his mission on Earth. The Sun-Goddess invested him with the sacred regalia, the mirror, the sword, and the jewels, and gave him her benediction and her charge to rule the earth, telling him as she handed to him the Heavenly Mirror, the mirror which had been used to entice her from her cave:

"My child, when thou lookest upon this mirror, let it be as if thou wert looking on me. Let it be with thee on thy couch and in thy hall, and let it be to thee a holy mirror. . . . This land is the region of which my descendants shall be Lords. Do thou, my august Grandchild, proceed thither and govern it. Go, and may prosperity attend thy dynasty and may it, like Heaven and Earth, endure for ever."

So the Heavenly Grandchild, leaving the Rock-seat of Heaven and pushing asunder the eightfold spreading clouds and

dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing, descended by the floating bridge of Heaven, accompanied by a large retinue of attendant gods, and arrived not in Izumo, on the north-west coast of the main island, where the way had been cleared for him with such trouble, but far away from it, at Mount Takachiho on the borders of Hiuga, a province in the south of Kyushu, the most southern of the eight great islands. At its base he built a palace, and one day, while walking by the seashore, he saw a beautiful maiden who told him that she was the Heavenly Princess of Aba, the daughter of the God, Great Mountain-Possessor, who was himself one of the sons of the creators, Izanagi and Izanami, and that she was also known as the Princess " who blossoms like the flowers of the trees." Ninigi proposed marriage to the maiden, who modestly referred him to her father. He gave his consent so gladly that he offered to Ninigi not only the daughter asked for but her elder sister as well, the Princess Rock Long, and sent them both with large presents. The Princess Rock Long was as ugly as her younger sister was beautiful, and so Ninigi returned her to her father; but he took the younger sister and favoured her, and in one night she became pregnant. The elder was greatly ashamed and cursed him, saying:

" If the August Grandchild had taken me, the children born to him would have been long-lived and would have endured for ever like the massive rocks. But seeing that he has not done so but has married my younger sister only, the children born to him will surely be decadent like the flowers of the trees."

This is the reason why the life of man is so short. Three children, triplets, were born of the union, but their father, before their birth, doubted their paternity.

" Child of the Heavenly Deity though I am, how could I in one night cause anyone to be with child? Now it cannot be my child."

At their birth, however, the mother passed safely through the ordeal of fire, from which both mother and children emerged uninjured, the children strong and vigorous, and able to proclaim their own legitimacy; so his doubts were dispelled, and he hailed both mother and children with pride. The younger of the three children, Prince Hodemi (Prince Fire-Subside), born when the flames of the ordeal were growing low, visited the palace of the Sea-God—a palace far beneath the ocean, with battlements, turrets, and stately towers—in search of a lost fishing-hook, the property of his eldest brother, and there he married the Sea-God's daughter, the Princess Rich Jewel, and

dwelt with her in all happiness for three years. Then, as he yearned for his old home, he received permission to return, and was provided with charms, the jewels of the ebbing and flowing tide, whereby he was to obtain authority over his elder brother. He was also given the lost fishing-hook, which was found in the mouth of the *tai* [1] and which was to be a hook of poverty, ruin and downfall to the brother. His wife bravely confronted the winds and waves and followed him to the sea-shore where, in an uncompleted hut roofed with cormorants' feathers, she gave birth to a child and then passed away for ever to her own ocean home. Other women became wet-nurses, bathing-women, boiled rice chewers, and washerwomen, for the child, who grew into a fine boy.

Prince Fire-Subside lived peacefully for 580 years in his palace at Takachiho. The boy, grown to manhood, married his maternal aunt, like his mother the daughter of the Sea-God, who had supervised his upbringing, and became the father of four sons, the youngest of whom was the divine Prince Kami-Yamato-Iware-biko, known in history under his posthumous title of the Emperor Jimmu, the first Emperor of Japan, the founder of the Imperial line of which the Emperor now on the throne is the 122nd representative in the direct order of succession.

For forty-five years after his birth, Jimmu lived at his birthplace at the base of Mount Takachiho. Then two of his brothers having died, he and the third set out on an expedition of conquest to the East. They had much fighting, in which they were not always successful, and in which the third brother was killed. There were some acts of treachery on their own part, and they had many miraculous adventures, in which they were assisted by a divine sword, the same upon which Take-mika-zuchi had sat in his interview with Onamuji; by an eight-handed crow, sent by the Sun-Goddess to guide them; and by a golden-plumaged kite, whose radiance dazzled the eyes of the enemy so that they could not fight; but at last they reached the province of Yamato, and there at Kashiwabara, about midway between Nara and Osaka, in the year 660 B.C., Jimmu established the Empire and took his seat upon the Imperial throne. The expedition from first to last had occupied seven years, and Jimmu was therefore fifty-two years of age when he ascended the throne at its close.

Such is the Japanese story of the creation of the world and

[1] Japanese turbot.

of the divine descent of their Imperial line. It contains many parallels to Greek, Hindu, and Biblical mythology. But there is no deluge recorded. There was no first man or woman on earth. The first-mentioned instance in which the duration of life is recorded is that of Prince Hodemi, 580 years. No comment is made on this as being at all unusual, and all internal evidence shows that the creation was a matter of hundreds of centuries; not the product of six days' labour on the part of one anthropomorphous God, but a very gradual process of evolution.

Learned native scholars, while sacrificing none of their faith, have endeavoured to find some realistic basis for all the myths, and have evolved the theory that Izanagi and Izanami were possibly the leaders of remote bands of invaders, and their jewelled spear merely the symbol of their military authority. Here it is not necessary to go so far back, and we may be content, without imposing an excessive strain on common sense, in assuming that either Susa-no-o or Onamuji, on the one side, and Jimmu, who was born in the ordinary course of human nature, with nearly all the attributes of an ordinary human being, on the other side, fulfilled the rôles which some commentators endeavour to assign to the far more remote creators, and that either of the first two was the leader of a band of immigrants from the Asiatic Continent which landed in Izumo, and Jimmu the leader of a much later band, which landed in the south of Kyushu. Both gradually made their way to Yamato, where Jimmu, being the stronger, either in his own personality or in the strength of the force behind him, assumed and retained the supreme authority over both bodies.

Nothing definite is or can be known as to the natural origin of the Japanese people, and all the theories that have been suggested by native or Western pundits are purely speculative. Only one inference can be safely made, that the Japanese are of the Mongol race. Before the ancestors of the present nation became settled in their lovely islands, a people who are now represented by only a few thousand souls, scattered through the northern islands, occupied a large section, if not the whole, of the Archipelago. The Ainu, as they are called, probably found their way, at some very remote period, from the north of Asia by way of Kamchatka and the Kurile Islands and gradually spread southwards. Of the two great Japanese immigrations which took place, the first body, which landed in Izumo, probably came by way of Korea from the central plateau in

Siberia. The second, starting also from Siberia, had far longer wanderings through southern China and Malaya, from which, aided by the Kuro Siwo—the Gulf Stream of the Far East—they ultimately reached Japan by way of Formosa and the Lu-chu Islands. During their wanderings there was a considerable infiltration of Chinese and Malay blood, the results of which are still clearly apparent in the different classes of the people at the present day. The two bodies steadily drove the Ainu northwards, and when they at last met, in the province of Yamato, both retained in their language and customs so many relics of their common origin that no difficulty was experienced in their amalgamation into one homogeneous whole. Immigrants of both bodies largely inter-married with the conquered Ainu, whose physical characteristics are still to be found in the lower classes—principally in the agricultural and labouring classes—of the Japanese, with the exception that the latter are wanting in the long bushy beards and in the coating of thick hair which still covers the bodies and limbs of the Ainu.

Another race is mentioned in the annals as distinct from the Japanese—the Kumaso, who apparently inhabited the southern coast of Kyushu. Some authorities suggest that these people came from Korea, while others again place their origin so far away as Borneo. Whatever it may have been, they were soon absorbed by the Japanese, and though they occasionally rebelled against their governors, they disappear from the annals as distinct factors in the nation at a very early period, and no trace of them now survives. The case of the Ainu was very different, as a long and arduous struggle had to be maintained against them before they were finally driven out of the main island and their scanty remnants consigned to the dreary islands of the north.

NOTE

The Imperial Regalia of Japan, the possession of which is the essential requisite that constitutes the legal right of the holder to the throne, to which frequent reference is made throughout all history, consisted of the Mirror, the Sword, and the Jewels.

The Mirror, known as Yata-no-Kagami, or the eight-hands mirror—the eight hands referring to its dimensions—is that by which the Sun-Goddess was tempted to come out of the cave to which she had withdrawn in indignation at the rudeness of her brother, Susa-no-o. The Sword, first called Mura-Kumo (cloud-clustering) and afterwards Kusanagi-no-Tsurugi (grass-mower), is that which was found by Susa-no-o in the tail of the eight-headed serpent. The Jewels, called Yasaka-ni-no-Magatama, are those which were hung on a tree near the Sun-Goddess's cave and were afterwards worn by her as a chaplet. All three were presented by her to her grandson when he was about to descend to earth, to be to him sacred emblems, the Mirror of purity and honesty; the

Jewels of gentleness and mercy; and the Sword of courage and strength, qualities that the Goddess considered necessary to her descendants for the proper government of their kingdom on earth.

All were at first preserved in the Great Hall of the Palace under the care of the Nakatomi family, but Sujin, the tenth Emperor, whose reign was signalised by many religious and administrative reforms, for greater security deposited the Sword and Mirror in a temple specially built to receive them, and replaced them in the palace by exact replicas made by the greatest smith of the time. A virgin princess, the Emperor's own daughter, was made abbess of the new temple and entrusted with their care. This charge she held for eighty-two years. She was succeeded by the Princess Yamato, the daughter of the Emperor Sui-nin, who, after many wanderings, selected Ise as the site of a new home for herself and the regalia, and there the Mirror remains to this day, so carefully shrouded from view that the brocade in which it is wrapped is never taken off, a new cover being added when the old one begins to decay with age.

The Shrines of Ise are the Mecca, the holy of holies, of Japan. They represent the purest style of the simple architecture of archaic Japan, and as they now stand are exact replicas of that which the Princess Yamato built over nineteen hundred years ago. Just as the covering of the Mirror is renewed, so are the Shrines. Every twenty years one of the two is pulled down and a new building is erected, in which every detail of the original is faithfully copied, the old one not being demolished till its site is required for another replica. The Sword was given to Yamato Dake when starting out on his Eastern campaign, and on his return it was deposited by him in the Temple of Atsuta in Owari, where it still remains. The Jewels, which consist of three crescent-shaped agate stones, one red, one white, and one blue, none of which are found in Japan, and the replicas both of the Sword and of the Mirror, have always been preserved in the palace, all three having special chambers sacred to them and all being under the special custody of members of the Imperial family. The original replica of the Sword was lost at the battle of Dan-no-Ura in 1185, so that the one now in the palace is of a comparatively modern date.

CHAPTER II

THE LEGENDARY EPOCH

JIMMU, the first Emperor, reigned for seventy-five years, dying at the age of one hundred and twenty-seven years in 585 B.C. He left to his successors an Empire which included all that part of Japan which lies to the south of a line drawn from where Kyoto now is to the province of Izumo (Idsumo) on the west coast. In the Five Home Provinces—the five provinces, including Yamato, around Kyoto—there was none to dispute their authority. There were occasional disturbances in Kyushu, but none of them ever constituted any serious threat to the Empire, though their suppression required military expeditions on a not inconsiderable scale. All the main island to the north of the line was still a *terra incognita*, still peopled by the savage Ainu, who maintained a perpetual frontier warfare against the invaders and so stoutly disputed every step of their advance that fully fifteen centuries were destined to elapse before the Japanese acquired the complete masterdom of the whole of their Empire as far as the extreme north of their main island.

It was not till ten centuries after Jimmu's death that Japanese history acquired any real basis of credibility. These were the Dark Ages. The mythical world of Japan, like that of Greece, opened with the gods, anterior to the human race, and it gradually descended first to prehistoric heroes with supernatural attributes, and next to real human beings with all the failings of ordinary mankind, always believing in the divine protection that was their right by descent, but expecting and receiving no miraculous help. During these ten centuries fifteen sovereigns in succession occupied the throne. The first eight have left no marks in history. The tenth Emperor, Sujin (97–29 B.C.) and his son Suinin (29 B.C.–A.D. 71) left reputations as administrative reformers not less distinguished than that of Jimmu as a conqueror. They governed with wisdom, mercy and courage. It was in the reign of Suinin and through his pitying mercy that the custom of *junshi*—" following in death "—was abolished. Up

to his reign it was the custom when a Prince of the Imperial line died that all his personal attendants should be buried alive with him and his grave encircled " with a living hedge." When the Emperor's brother died in the year 2 B.C. the old custom was observed, the dead prince's attendants

" were all buried standing upright in the precinct of the tomb. For several days they died not, but wept and wailed day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and crows gathered and ate them."

The Emperor, full of compassion, decreed that the custom should cease, and from that time clay images were substituted for living beings. Human sacrifices, therefore, ceased to be part of the Imperial funeral rites, but voluntary suicide, in order that a faithful retainer might not be separated from a beloved lord, has never ceased to occur in Japan, though repeated legislative attempts to prevent it have been made in different ages. The memories of those who have thus sacrificed themselves are highly honoured. The death of the Emperor Meiji, in 1912, furnished a modern instance, when General Nogi, one of his most distinguished generals, and his wife, both died by their own hands.

The twelfth Emperor was Keiko (A.D. 71–131), a vigorous and courageous sovereign, a capable soldier, who commanded his own armies in the field, and brought the island of Kyushu into subjection to the throne. He had many wives and eighty children, the memory of one of whom is still cherished as that of a brave knight, a bright mirror of all that is best in the national code of chivalry. This is Prince Yamato Dake, the Princely Hero of Yamato. His name has become a synonym for the Japanese spirit of loyalty and patriotism.

In his youth he was known as the Prince of the Little Mortar. He was the youngest of twin sons of the Emperor, and acquired his name from the fact that the mortar was used for divination at his birth. Even as a child he had a manly spirit. When he arrived at manhood his beauty was extraordinary. His father was ten feet two inches high, but he was even taller, measuring a full rod, while his strength was such that he could lift a tripod. His entire career was one of romantic adventure, of great military exploits, of unselfish devotion to his duties to his father and sovereign, and to his country. His first recorded exploit, though it may not commend itself in that light to modern readers, is held in high esteem by Japanese as a manifestation of filial piety. It was the slaying of his own elder twin brother, who had grossly betrayed a delicate trust confided to him by the

Emperor, the father of both. Then, when only sixteen years of age, he was despatched on a military expedition to western Kyushu, where the Kumaso, the people, who were as savage as bears, were, notwithstanding their conquest by his father, in active rebellion. By valour and cunning combined he slew the leaders and tranquillised the district, and then returned to the Court and reported to his father what he had done.

The south and west were now at peace under the effective control of the Central Government. In the north and east, the Yemishi, the Ainu, safe behind the long range of mountains which separated them from the south and west and could only be crossed by a few difficult passes, still maintained a vigorous warfare against the slowly encroaching Japanese settlers. It was necessary that their power should be broken, and the new task was entrusted to the Prince who had already so signally proved his capacity. After having offered up his prayers at the Holy Shrine of Ise, where he was girded by his aunt, Yamato Hime, the virgin abbess of the Shrine, with the sacred cloud-gathering sword, and presented with an august bag that was only to be opened in case of dire emergency, he began a campaign which was destined to last ten years, during which he completely subdued all the district north of the capital as far as the modern province of Iwaki, and west as far as Echigo, adding seven new provinces to the dominions in which the Emperor's will was reverently obeyed.

Many were the perils that beset him during the campaign which have ever since been the joy of Japanese artists both with the brush and pen. In Sagami, he was enticed to a wide moor by savage and treacherous chiefs, who then set the grass around him on fire so that he was in imminent danger. The crisis spoken of by his aunt had come, and he opened the bag. Within it was a fire-drill, with which he kindled a new fire, and then, mowing the grass around him with his sword, he made an empty space on the moor and so was saved, while the treacherous chiefs met the fate they had devised for him. From that time the "cloud-gathering sword" was always known as "the grass-mower." A storm arose, provoked by his own slighting references to the Sea-God, when he was crossing the straits between Sagami and Kazusa, and when his ship was in imminent peril of foundering, his wife, the Princess Oto Tachibana, propitiated the angered god by the sacrifice of her own life. The storm was stilled and he was once more saved from death. Seven days afterwards the dead Princess's comb floated ashore and was reverently placed in a shrine. Her memory is still

preserved in another shrine among the mountains of Kazusa, where she is worshipped as the patron-goddess of the fishermen of the east coast, who ask her protection against the storms and high waves of the great Pacific on which they ply their trade. More widely is her name known by the term used by poets in all the succeeding centuries for the eastern provinces. When long after her death, on his way homewards, Yamato Dake was crossing one of the mountain-passes that lead from east to south, he turned on the summit, and gazing sadly over the eastern plains that lay below him in all their luxuriant beauty and fertility, he sighed three times and said: "Azuma wa ya" (Alas, my wife!), and so the eastern provinces are called Azuma (my wife) to this day.

Further miraculous adventures followed. Once having lost his way in the province of Shinano, "where there are many thousand hill ranges and the cliffs are precipitous so that for men with staff in hand they are hard to ascend and even with slackened reins the horse makes no progress," he was guided to safety by a white dog; and again, when attacking a savage deity on Mount Ibuki, he was led astray by the deity in the form of a white boar, as large as an ox. There was no path which he could follow, and he knew not whither to turn his steps. He was caught in a mist and icy rain, so that, wearied and chilled, he reeled and staggered like a drunken man. That was his death warrant. The chill did its work. His sufferings were great, and when he came to the moor of Nobo he lay down and died. Before the end came he sent a messenger to the Emperor to report what he had done during his long campaign, how he had subdued both the rebellious Yemishi and the savage deities, and how, his work done, he was on his way home:

"I rolled up my armour and laid aside my weapons and was returning peacefully to report my mission to the Celestial Court. But the life allotted by Heaven has unexpectedly approached to an end. Passing swiftly, as a four-horsed carriage passes a crack in the road, it may not be stayed. Alone I lay me down on the waste moor, with none to say a word to me. But why should I regret the loss of this body? My only grief is that I cannot meet thee."

The Emperor, choked with grief, with tears and lamentations, beat his breast and mourned for him night and day: "Oh, my son; oh, what a calamity. When we least expected it we suddenly lost our child." A tomb was constructed on the moor, but the Prince, taking the form of a white heron, came forth from the tomb and, after long flight, soared aloft to Heaven. Only his clothing and official cap were left in the tomb.

The Emperor followed him seventeen years later, and was succeeded by his fourth child, Seimu (131–190), who reigned for fifty-nine uneventful years. He, in turn, leaving no son, was succeeded by the Emperor Chuai (192–200), the son of Yamato Dake.

Like his father, the new Emperor's countenance was of perfect beauty, and his stature also exceeded ten feet. His reign was not a long one. Early in it the Kumaso were once more in rebellion, and, as his grandfather and father had done, the Emperor proceeded in person to Kyushu to suppress them. During the campaign the Empress (posthumously known as the Empress Jingo) became divinely inspired and revealed to her lord the existence of a land beyond the sea, more worthy of his military prowess than the Kumaso,

"a land of treasure which may be compared to the aspect of a beautiful woman, dazzling to the eyes with gold and silver and bright colour in plenty."

The Emperor refused to believe the divine message, and in punishment for his want of faith was told that not he but the child of which the Empress had just become pregnant should obtain the land. So the Emperor continued his campaign against the Kumaso, but he was slain by the arrow of an enemy.

His death was concealed from his subjects, and the Empress, a woman of such blooming beauty that men wondered at it, and one also of courage, energy and determination, shrewd and intelligent and of unbounded ambition, resolved to pursue the task which had been scorned by her husband. Numerous religious services were performed; omens were sought and found, and a great fleet collected, which set sail under divine guidance, with the warrior Empress at its head. She was pregnant, but delayed her delivery by the expedient of tying a stone in her girdle. Favourable and gentle winds accompanied the armada on its way; the fishes, both great and small, gave their help, so that not an oar had to be used, and a great tidal wave finally bore the ships far inland into the land of Silla, the most southern of the three kingdoms into which the peninsula of Korea was then divided.

The Koreans were taken utterly by surprise, and were also terrified by the great wave, which, though it did the ships no harm, seemed as if it were about to overwhelm the whole land. They submitted at once and promised that they would not cease to render homage to Japan or to pay annual tribute "until the sun rose in the west, the rivers flowed backwards, and the stones

on the earth became stars in the sky." The kings of the other two kingdoms soon followed the example of the first, and the Empress, her ships laden with booty, returned in triumph to Japan after an absence of only three months. Then at last her child was born. She lived and governed with vigour and success for nearly seventy years after her exploit (201–270), and then died at the age of one hundred years.

The whole story of the conquest of Korea is not less mythical than that of the siege of Troy. Korean history of the early centuries of the Christian era is infinitely more reliable than that of Japan, and it is confirmed by the contemporaneous records of China, which are undoubtedly authentic. No less than twenty-five Japanese incursions on Korea are mentioned in it during the first five centuries of the Christian era, but none of them correspond in date with that of the Empress Jingo. Neither this lacuna in the evidence of its occurrence nor any of the miraculous incidents which accompanied it have at any time prevented the Japanese nation from recording it as an actual historic event, nor from using it, through all ages, as a justification for interference in Korean domestic affairs.

During all the long succeeding years of the Empress Jingo's government her Imperial Consort was by a fiction supposed to be still alive, and Jingo's reign was only a regency in his name. To her son, the Emperor Ojin (270–310), who succeeded her and reigned for forty years, dying at the age of 110, was given all the credit of the Korean conquest. He, as a child still in the womb, was supposed to have inspired her with wisdom and courage; and while she has a very humble place in the national Pantheon, her son, to whose credit there are no military expeditions, was deified as Hachiman, the God of War, though his worship, strange to say, originated with the teachers of Buddhism long after his death. Splendid temples in Tokyo, Kyoto and Kamakura are dedicated to him, and it is to him that soldiers offer up their prayers both individually and in battalions when about to proceed on active service. The word Hachiman is the Chinese version of Yahata—eight banners—which are said to have fallen from Heaven on the temple first dedicated to him.

Ojin's son, Nintoku (313–399), succeeded him on the throne and attained even a greater age (120 years) than his father. With him ended the long-lived Emperors. Henceforward the lives of the Emperors were measured by the ordinary standards of longevity, and the dark ages of Japanese history, with all their miraculous events, may be said to have come to

an end. The history of the remaining centuries is that of human beings and human events, unaffected by divine interposition, deserving from the first a fair, and very soon a complete measure of credibility.

The Japanese of the dark ages of their history were a race already far above the conditions of absolute barbarism, though some of their customs still retained elements that were but little removed from it. Their morality, according to our sense of the word, was not of a high degree. Polygamy, on a very liberal scale, if the customs of the nation may be estimated from what we know of the Court, was universal, and the only distinction between concubines and wives was in name, the concubines being frequently of the same rank in life as the wives, very often indeed the younger sisters of the latter. There was no distinction of legal status between the children of the two, and, not infrequently, the child of the concubine was preferred in succession to that of the wife. There seems to have been no legal form of marriage or divorce. Cohabitation, initiated without ceremony, sometimes even without preliminaries of any kind, constituted marriage, and divorce was the arbitrary prerogative of the husband. What is now called incest was frequent until the influence of Chinese ethics began to make itself felt. Men married their own sisters by a different mother, their aunts, even their step-mothers. There was only one limit on marriage with sisters, that they must not be of full blood. In one instance where the heir-apparent became secretly united to his full sister, " whom he so loved that he was well-nigh on the point of death between his passion and his struggles to overcome its guilt," the nation censured him, and the ministers would not follow him, so that he was deprived of the succession to the throne, while his sister was banished from the Court and died by her own hand. There is only one instance recorded of a jealous wife who refused to recognise the usual privileges of a sovereign. The concubines of the Heavenly Sovereign, the Emperor Nintoku, could not even peep inside the palace, and when the much-tried husband sought consolation in his wife's absence, she refused to return to him and remained obdurate till her death.

The subjection of women was not without some limits, and both in the dark ages and in the early centuries of history women were far from being the mere chattels they became in the subsequent eras of feudalism. It could be hardly otherwise

in a country where the greatest of all the deities was a goddess, where the real leader of the only overseas military expedition was a woman, and where in later centuries several Empresses occupied the throne. Women were frequently consulted by their husbands, and though, as a rule, they willingly and unhesitatingly yielded themselves when their love was sought, they did not always do so. The Emperor Yuriaku (457–479), while still Crown Prince, four years before he ascended the throne, wished to marry all three daughters of a preceding Emperor, Hanzei (406–410), but the Imperial Princesses, who cannot have been very young, declined the honour. They said :

" Thou, my Lord, art much given to violence and to sudden fits of anger, so that he who sees thee in the morning is slain in the evening, and he who sees thee in the evening is slain in the morning. Now, thy hand-maidens' countenances are not distinguished for beauty nor their minds for cleverness. If, in manners and speech, we could not be agreeable to the princely expectation, how shouldst thou receive us to thy intimacy ? For this reason we are unable to obey thy command."

To the last they kept out of his way and would not give ear to him. The Prince had paved his way to the throne by murdering his two brothers and his two uncles, and by instigating the murder of the Emperor Anko (453–456), his immediate predecessor. He had also punished a princess of Korea—sent to him as tribute, whom he intended to favour, for giving herself in preference to an humbler suitor—by stretching her four limbs on a tree and setting fire to it so that she was burned to death. The ladies were perhaps, therefore, as prudent in their decision as they were modest in their self-depreciation. The Emperor seems to have been sensible to the attractions of ladies of mature age, for in another case, after he came to the throne, he yielded to " the beauty of countenance and elegance of appearance " of a lady who must, according to the accepted chronology, have been seventy years old at the time. If consideration of wives, however, was of a low degree, that of filial piety was very high. Slights on fathers were revenged with fierce determination, implicit obedience was rendered, and mourning on their deaths was long and sincere, while the affection of the fathers for the sons would not have misbecome King David.

Rice was cultivated from the earliest times, and mention is also made of barley, beans and millet. Fish and the flesh of wild animals and birds were also eaten until they were prohibited by Buddhist canons. The fermented rice-beer, known as *saké*, was brewed from the earliest times, and drunkenness

was not uncommon. Tea, on the other hand, the national drink of to-day, was unknown. Banquets were frequent in the palace, and annual feasts with wine and revelry were also held in the open. Bathing is mentioned both in daily life and in religious ceremonies, so that it may be assumed that personal cleanliness was a marked feature in ancient as it is in modern Japanese life. Death was supposed to contaminate a dwelling-house; a new palace had, therefore, to be constructed at the beginning of every reign, and as the site of the palace constituted the capital during the reign, there were continuous changes, until at last, at the beginning of the eighth century, it was permanently established at Nara.[1] The palace was a wooden hut with pillars planted in the ground, a framework held together by cords of twisted wistaria, and a thatched roof, with earthen floors covered with skins or grass, though tiled roofs and cushions of silk are also mentioned. The whole resembled in its outward aspects modern Shinto temples, especially those which retain their pure style, uncontaminated by Buddhist decorative architecture, and the frequent renewals of palaces so primitive in their details was not such a serious matter as it might on first thoughts appear. Where the palace was of this nature the residences of the people, even of the nobility, cannot have been very imposing, nor an obstacle to their change when the Court moved. The castles that are sometimes referred to seem to have been only enclosures surrounded by palisades, a marked contrast to the great and imposing structures of later feudal times. There were neither towns nor roads. The largest congregation of inhabitants did not exceed that of a village, and they preserved many traces in their lives of their nomadic ancestors.

Clothing was woven from hemp and mulberry bark, and it included a variety of garments, skirts, coats, trousers, girdles and hats, which suggest a considerable degree of civilisation. Modern Japanese had no hesitation in exposing their bodies, in partial or complete nudity, females no more than males, until they were, under the influence of Western ethics, restrained by police regulations. Japan was once described by an old European resident as a country in which the men only dress from their waists upwards and the women from their waists downwards. There is no evidence that the remote ancestors of the present inhabitants ever failed in the strict observance of the dictates of rigid propriety in this respect. They wore ornaments of jewels, probably made from crystal, agate or jade, and their

[1] Near Osaka.

arms were swords, spears and bows and arrows. In both swordsmanship and archery they seem to have given promise of the very high degree of skill which their descendants cultivated with marked success. Carriages drawn by oxen were used, and once a coach with four horses is mentioned; but the horse was universally ridden and not driven. Hunting on horseback was a common pastime; so were wrestling and football. Writing was unknown before the fifth century, and there were, therefore, no books; but music, both song and instrumental, dancing and poetry, were common accomplishments in the Court, and some of the poems which survived to be recorded in either the *Kojiki* or *Nihongi*, especially the love songs, display no mean degree of poetic skill and inspiration.

CHAPTER III

THE DAWN OF HISTORY AND THE GREAT REFORMS

The Emperor Nintoku died in the year A.D. 399, and the dawn of real Japanese history may be said to date from that year, though even then the art of writing was still unknown. The details of the reigns of the succeeding twelve Emperors furnish the themes for many romantic tales of love and adventure, of very gruesome tales as well, but only one of these Emperors, Ingyō (412–453), exercised any permanent influence on the history of the nation. Patrician families had multiplied, and there was much confusion in their titles and lineage, many asserting claims which were wholly spurious. All were called upon to undergo the ordeal of boiling water, after having fasted and purified themselves, receiving the assurance that only impostors would suffer. All who were entitled to the names they bore came through the ordeal unharmed. All those who were false suffered. Those who had deliberately falsified their titles and knew of their wrong were frightened and, slipping away beforehand, did not come forward. Thus were genealogies rectified and, as they have been carefully preserved ever since, there is no doubt now as to the lineage of the nobles of the Empire.

Yuriaku (457–479) paved his way to the throne by the murders of four princes, with better titles, who stood in his way. Two children, the sons of one of Yuriaku's victims, escaped and found refuge in the country, where they passed their youth as cowherds. They subsequently became the Emperors Kenzo (485–487) and Ninken (488–498). They had spent twenty-four years in their menial occupation before a chance visit of the Governor of the province brought about their recognition and their restoration to their rightful rank. Muretsu (499–506) was a monster of such hideously revolting cruelty that before his record even that of Nero pales. With the reign of the Emperor Kimmei (539–571), the twenty-ninth of the line, the

dawn broke of a new era of civilisation which was destined to exercise a profound influence on the life of the nation.

During the intervening centuries, since the Empress Jingo's invasion of Korea, intercourse was constant between the two countries, and Japan acquired through the medium of Korea some of the elements of Chinese civilisation, which was then of an incomparably higher degree than her own. Korea was divided into three independent kingdoms, frequently at war with each other and incapable therefore of effective resistance to Japan, which was united under one sovereign, and, however inferior to Korea in real civilisation, was superior in military science and prowess. This superiority unfortunately enabled the Japanese to interfere in the internecine quarrels in Korea, without advantage to themselves and with much suffering to the Koreans ; but frequent wars did not prevent the steady infiltration to Japan of all the elements of Korean culture. In the year 405 a Korean teacher of Chinese settled in Japan and taught the Chinese system of writing. He was soon followed by many others ; the Chinese script became more and more adapted to the peculiarities of the Japanese language, and the knowledge and use of it gradually spread. The arts of China, both scientific and material, the literature, law, social and political organisation, medicine, even necromancy, and finally religion, followed in the train of the language. China received Buddhism from India, and passed it on to Korea ; and thence a long succession of missionaries, both male and female, introduced it into Japan and accomplished the greatest religious revolution known to history. They converted the entire nation from the Court downwards. The Emperor, " who ruled the land of the Eight Islands as an incarnate deity," the Empress and the Court, became the most earnest propagandists of the new faith, and its influence has continued to be felt in the nation to this day.

In the year 552, the King of Pekche, one of the three sovereigns of Korea, sent an embassy to Japan to express his gratitude for military aid given to him against his two rivals in the Peninsula, and with it, as presents to the Emperor, an image of Sakayamune (Buddha) in gold and copper, sixteen feet high, several flags and umbrellas, and a number of volumes of the Sutras, the sacred books which are supposed to contain the very words uttered by Buddha. Along with them he presented a memorial, " in which he lauded the merit of diffusing abroad religious worship," saying :

" This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain and hard to comprehend. Even the Duke of Chow and

Confucius had not attained to a knowledge of it. This doctrine can create religious merit and retribution without measure and without bounds and so lead on to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom. Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content so that he might satisfy all his wishes in proportion as he used them. Thus it is with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine. Every prayer is fulfilled and naught is wanting. Moreover, from distant India it has extended hither to the three kingdoms, where there are none who do not receive it with reverence as it is preached to them."

This was the beginning of Buddhism in Japan. The image was entrusted to the keeping of the head of the Soga, one of the three great families of Court nobles of the time, who received it with all reverence, and it seemed as if, under the fostering patronage of one of the greatest nobles in the land, the new religion might soon become a permanent institution; but misfortune attended it. Pestilence became rife, famine followed, many of the people died, and all these sufferings were attributed to its evil influences; so the image was thrown into a canal and the religion fell into disfavour. It rose again, however, but it was not until after many vicissitudes of fortune, good and bad, that it at last gained a sure footing in the Court. One of the incidents in its progress was a sharp civil war which resulted in establishing the Soga family as the predominant influence in the Court. They had all along been the firm champions of the new faith, and the way was clear for the vigorous prosecution of his missionary enterprise by the head of the family. He was aided by a new champion, whose energy, ability and success have earned for him in history the title of the Constantine of Buddhism, a great statesman as well as a great proselytiser.

This was the Prince Umayado, "Stable-door," a name given to him from the circumstances of his birth. He was the eldest son of the Emperor Yomei (585–588), whose consort was his own half-sister, both being the children of the Emperor Kimmei (539–572) by different mothers. On the day of his birth his mother, the Empress, who must have been a vigorous and energetic woman, when far advanced in pregnancy was making an inspection of the palace grounds; and when she came to the Horse Department, "she was suddenly delivered without effort." From his birth he gave promise of the ability that was to distinguish him throughout his life.

"He was able to speak as soon as he was born, and was so wise, when he grew up, that he could attend to the suits of ten men at once and decide them all without error. He knew beforehand what was going to happen. Moreover he learned the Inner Doctrine (Buddhism) and studied the Outer Classics (the Chinese classics), and in both of these branches of study he became thoroughly proficient."

From his youth he was an earnest disciple of Buddha, and so great were his services that on his death the posthumous title of Shotoku Daishi—the great Apostle of True Virtue—was conferred on him; and it is by this title and not by his own personal name that he is known in history. When conferring it, the Buddhist priests claimed that he was really the incarnation of Kwannon, the God of Mercy, who had entered into his mother's mouth while she slept, and that after this miraculous conception he was born from her in the ordinary course of nature.

The Emperor Sujun (588–592) owed his throne to the Soga chief, who was both his uncle and his Prime Minister, but he fretted under the twofold domination of senior relative and Prime Minister and was ambitious to emancipate himself. A dead wild boar was presented to him, and he said in open Court, pointing to the boar, "When shall those to whom we have an aversion be cut off as this wild boar's throat has been cut?" This was reported by a concubine, who was angry at her declining favour with the Emperor, to the astute and arrogant Minister, the Bismarck of Old Japan, who was as prompt as he was ruthless in the measures he took for his own protection. He caused the Emperor, his nephew, to be assassinated, and in his stead the sacrilegious assassin caused the Empress Suiko (593–628) to be placed on the throne. She was the first woman to be invested with the Imperial Regalia and to occupy the throne in her own right. She was the daughter of the Emperor Kimmei, the widow of the Emperor Bidatsu, her own half-brother, and the sister of the Emperors Yomei and Sujun, so that she was closely related to all her four predecessors. Though now in her thirty-ninth year, she was still beautiful in her appearance, and her conduct was marked by propriety. In the first year of her reign she nominated her nephew, the Prince Umayado, then twenty-one years of age, as Prince Imperial, and entrusted him with the general control of the government and the details of the administration; and during the succeeding twenty-nine years, until he died, he served her faithfully and well, her trusted friend and counsellor.

From his youth, Prince Umayado was devoted to Buddhism. He had prayed to it in the greatest hour of danger on the battlefield, and his prayers had been answered and the tide of battle turned in his favour. In gratitude and in fulfilment of his vows he erected a temple in honour of the Shi-Tenno, the four guardian Kings of Heaven, and caused it to be endowed with the confiscated lands and slaves of the Mononobe, a noble family, who had been ruined and destroyed by the Soga. This

Buddhist foundation, one of the richest in the Empire, still survives in the great Temple of Tennoji at Osaka. It has been several times destroyed by fire, but has always been promptly rebuilt in renewed splendour. All the Prince's religious influence was exerted on the Empress, his aunt, who became a zealous convert.

From this time the new faith spread rapidly through the whole nation. Priests and nuns, filled with missionary fervour, came in a constant stream from Korea, and in Japan nobles and high officials vied with each other in the erection of new shrines. Great Buddhist festivals were yearly observed with increasing cost and splendour. It was not only in religion that continental influence was felt. Both Chinese and Korean teachers of literature, astronomy, geography, calendar-making, medicine, painting, sculpture, architecture and metal-casting were encouraged to settle in Japan, and were rewarded with brevets of high rank which entitled them to take their places among the native aristocracy. The Chinese calendar was introduced. The arts of invisibility and magic were studied, and pupils perfected themselves in them. Chinese architecture, first displayed in temples, had its influence on dwellings, which soon ceased to be of the old primitive types. In everything the hand of the Prince Imperial was manifest. He reformed the Court ceremonies and the Court dress. In 608 an embassy, accredited to the Sovereign of Wa, the name by which Japan was still known both in China and Korea, arrived from China and was received with all becoming honour and ceremony, and when it returned, Japanese students and student-priests were sent with it to study in China.

For the first time in Japanese history laws were drawn up in writing, drafted by the Prince himself in person. Though termed laws in the Chronicles, they are more of the nature of an ethical than a legal code for the guidance of nobles and officials in the discharge of their duties and in their relations both to the throne and to the people. They are founded on the writings of Confucius, of which the Prince was an earnest student, but are adapted to the spirit and customs of Japan. In no section is any legal sanction provided. A knowledge of Chinese literature and the capacity to use it in their own writings thenceforward became the hall-mark of a Japanese scholar and gentleman, while the old language of Japan, the Yamato Kotoba, was gradually more and more subjected to Chinese influence, just as the English of the Saxon kings was to the Latin and Norman of their conquerors. That influence has caused a revolution in

the spoken and written languages, the effect of which continues to this day. There are two languages in daily use in Japan—one the ordinary vernacular of the people in which words of native origin still predominate, though those of Chinese origin are increasing almost daily; the other, the written language, is used in serious literature, including the press, and contains a large admixture of Chinese words. The two differ from each other, both in construction and vocabulary, almost as much as to constitute different languages. There may be said to be a third language, which is used in very serious works and is almost pure Chinese, though pronounced quite differently to what it is in the land of its origin.

Shotoku Daishi died in 621, and all the people, high and low, mourned the loss of a great civil and religious reformer and a great statesman, who had done nothing but good for his country: who converted the darkness of semi-barbarism and ignorance into the light of civilisation and culture, and left behind him peace and ordered government where he had found strife and confusion.

The Empress survived her Minister for seven years. A fruitless military expedition to Korea; the investigation of the murder by a Buddhist priest of his own grandfather; the consequent appointment of high clerical dignitaries for the control of the priesthood and nuns, who had hitherto been outside the law, and the institution of a strict system of registration of both, were the principal events of the last years of her reign. It was her desire to be succeeded by Prince Yamashiro, the son of her great Minister, but her wishes were not destined to be fulfilled. The power of the Soga had steadily grown in ratio with the increasing influence of Buddhism, both as a religion and a great social force, and the office of Daijin, the chief civil authority of the State, had become hereditary in their family. The present head of the family, Emishi, the grandson of the first apostle of Buddhism, favoured a rival candidate, and his influence was great enough to cause Prince Yamashiro to be set aside and the Imperial Regalia to be conferred on Jomei (628–641), who thus became the thirty-fourth Emperor of the line. He was the grandson of the Emperor Bidatsu.

His reign was uneventful, marked only by military expeditions against the Ainu barbarians on the northern frontiers, the coming of another embassy from China in 634, the presence of a comet which moved from south to east, and an eclipse of the sun. The power and arrogance of the Soga family continued to increase until they emulated the Imperial Court both in the exercise and in the outward display of their authority. Jomei

died in 641, and again they acted as Emperor-makers. Prince Yamashiro was still alive and his claim to the throne was unanswerable, but he and his family and his followers were all driven to suicide, and another Empress—Kogiyoku (642–645), widow of Jomei—was placed upon it by the Soga. Their autocracy, both that of the father Emishi, the head of the family, and of his son Iruka, became still more pronounced. The chief arrogated to himself more and more what were essentially Imperial prerogatives, and the ostentation of both father and son was without bounds. The father's house was called the Palace Gate, the son's the Valley Palace Gate. Their sons and daughters were styled Princes and Princesses. Outside their houses palisades were constructed, an armoury was erected by the gate, and stout fellows, with arms in their hands, were constantly on guard. Stores of arrows were provided. When out of doors they were always attended by a guard of fifty sturdy soldiers. Their pride grew apace with their dignity and power, but their fall was close at hand.

At this time the head of the important Nakatomi family[1] was Kamatari, a man of exalted sentiments, of an upright and loyal character, of a reforming disposition, and "of a bearing which made rudeness to him impossible." Between the Soga and Nakatomi families there had always been bitter political rivalry, and, since the introduction of Buddhism, religious rivalry was added to it, the Nakatomi, as hereditary Chief Priests of the Empire, being naturally devoted to the old religion. Apart from his inherited hatred to the Soga, Kamatari was indignant with their present head "for breaking down the order of Prince and Vassal, of senior and junior, and for cherishing veiled designs upon the State." He accordingly entered into a conspiracy for their overthrow with two of the Imperial Princes. One of them, Prince Karu, the Empress's brother, he already knew well: he had stayed a night with him, and the Prince had shown him extraordinary respect, "sending his favourite consort to sweep out a separate room and to spread high a new sleeping-mat," and overlooking nothing that could be provided for him. With the other, Prince Naka, the Empress's son, he had no intimate relations, but an incident at a football match, in which the Prince was playing, brought them together. The Prince accidentally kicked off his shoe, and Kamatari, seeing it fall, picked it up and on bended knee restored it to the Prince, who in his

[1] A family which was less illustrious in its descent than the Imperial Family alone, its founder having descended from heaven in the train of the grandson of the Sun-Goddess.

turn knelt and respectfully received it. From that time they became mutual friends and told each other all their thoughts.

On Kamatari's advice and with his mediation as "go-between" a marriage was arranged between Prince Naka and the eldest daughter of a member of the Soga family named Kura-Yamada, it being hoped thereby to enlist his co-operation against his own kinsman. All was arranged, and the night was fixed for the marriage, when the father's plans were suddenly disconcerted by the elopement of the intended bride with a lover who was also a relation. The father was sorely grieved and alarmed, "looking up and down and knowing not what to do." He was saved by his younger daughter, who said, "It is not too late; offer me instead." The father, greatly rejoiced, did so, and "she served the Prince with sincerity of heart and without any shyness whatever."

All was now ready for the execution of the plot; but the two Soga were unassailable in their strongly-guarded residences, and both were always protected by their escorts when out of doors, while Iruka, the younger Soga, never parted with his iron sword either by day or night. An occasion was, however, provided by a Court function, a State reception by the Empress in the *Tai Kyokuden*, The Great Hall of Audience. Iruka was present on duty. He had been induced by a trick laughingly to ungird his sword before taking his stand at the foot of the throne. The conspirators, who were also present, had fully prepared their plans, but at the last moment they failed owing to the cowardice of the two swordsmen who had been chosen to carry out their design. Prince Naka himself took up their task and with his sword cut open Iruka's head and shoulder, and then one of the two swordsmen, taking courage, wounded him in the leg. Iruka rolled to the throne and implored the protection of the Empress, the Child of Heaven who occupied the hereditary dignity, and she, greatly shocked, inquired the reason of the outrage. Prince Naka answered saying, "This person wished to destroy utterly the Celestial House and to subvert the Solar Dignity. Is he to be substituted for the Celestial descendants?" The Empress could not answer her own son, so she at once got up and withdrew to the interior of the palace. Two courtiers then completed the work begun by Prince Naka.

Iruka's father and his people were soon deserted by the Court officials and by their own guards, all forsaking at once a cause which they recognised as lost; and they were taken and executed. The administration of the Soga was over for

ever. The Dignity was at once abdicated by the Empress in favour of the Imperial Prince Karu, and her son, Prince Naka, was made Prince Imperial. The Empress had naturally wished to make her own son her heir, but he was advised by Nakatomi to yield to the senior claim of his uncle.

Prince Karu, therefore, ascended the throne and assumed the Dignity. His title in history is the Emperor Kotoku (645–655). Kamatari was made Minister of the Household, and a great brocade cap of honour was given to him with an increased feudal revenue of houses and serfs.

We have now arrived at the dawn of a new era. Among other assimilations from China, the use was adopted of year-names (*nengo*), descriptive titles given to arbitrary periods of years and founded on some salient characteristic of the period. To the first of these periods, that on which we are now entering, which lasted from A.D. 645 to 650, the title of Daikwa—Great Reform—was happily given. The Japanese had by this time made very considerable advances in culture and civilisation. They had constant intercourse with China and Korea, and acquired from both all the best they had to offer. Capital and palace had still no permanent abiding-place, but the decorative architecture, which was used to render honour to Buddhist temples, was not lacking either in the palace of the Sovereign or in the houses of the nobility: neither were any longer the simple unvarnished edifices of wood and thatch that they had been before Chinese influence was felt in its fulness. The arts had made great progress: music, painting, sculpture, dancing and poetry were all cultivated. In agriculture, irrigation reservoirs were constructed to provide against the recurrence of long droughts—of which there were severe instances in the years 637 and 642, the first of which was attended by famine throughout the Empire. Clothing had become much more ornamental: it was no longer of hemp and mulberry cloth, but of brocade, heavily embroidered, and silk of various colours; and on the great State occasions, of which descriptions survive, gold ornaments were worn in the hair. Distinctions in official rank, of which there were, prior to Kotoku's reign, seven kinds and thirteen grades, were signified by the colours and material of the regulation caps and clothing, the colours varying from dark and light purples, in the two highest grades, through dark red, deep violet and green in the intermediate, to black in the lowest. There were other distinctions in both form and material. Under Kotoku the number of cap-grades were increased to nineteen.

Shipping also had so much developed that it was found necessary to establish a special bureau for its control. Another bureau was established for the control of trade. Weights and measures were introduced from China, but it was not till the eighth century that there was any native coinage, though a certain amount of Korean currency was in circulation from a much earlier date. Several historical incidents show that there was no very marked improvement in the standard of sexual morality, and the inference that may be drawn from them is not weakened by such records as " Several of the *Uneme* (ladies of the Court) were punished for illicit intercourse," or by the facts that a political refugee, who was hidden in a nunnery, was betrayed by one of the nuns, jealous of his amours with her sisters in religion; or that the Emperor Kotoku found it necessary to legislate for cases in which husbands had occasions for complaining of their wives' illicit intercourse with others.

In 650 the *nengo* was changed to Hakuchi—white pheasant—and the new period lasted, like the first, for five years. Both periods were years of continuous reforms which made vital changes in the political, economic and social organisation of the Empire. The reason for the change in the *nengo* was that a local Governor presented a white pheasant, caught upon a Korean mountain, to the Emperor. The Japanese have always been particularly susceptible to omens—white deer, white sparrows and white crows were always accepted " as auspicious omens appearing in response to virtuous rulers." Much more so was a white pheasant—" a sign that the Emperor will continue for a thousand autumns and ten thousand years to govern the great eight islands of the four quarters." Numerous precedents to that effect were cited by the chief Buddhist priests, and after a great religious service held in the Court in the most solemn state a general amnesty was proclaimed, the *nengo* was changed, and the Emperor and his Ministers were able to continue on the path of reform with the goodwill of all the nation, whose unreserved sympathy had been won by the favourable omen.

The leaders of reform under the Emperor Kotoku were the Imperial Prince Naka, who had ceded his claim to the throne in favour of the Emperor, and Kamatari, the great statesman. All three had shared in the bloodshed that had watered the way to Kotoku's accession; all three were devoted friends, and all combined in the reforms with implicit confidence in their cause, themselves and in each other. They had the co-

operation of a Buddhist priest, named Bin, and of a learned doctor named Kuromaro, both of whom had been a long time in China and were well acquainted with Chinese statecraft and scholarship. Hereditary office-holders were abolished in the provinces, and in their stead Governors of proved ability were appointed for fixed periods, and regulations framed for their guidance and for the prevention of corruption or nepotism. Eight Departments of State were established for the administration of the Government, at the head of which were the three great Ministers of State, the Sa-Dai-jin, the U-Dai-jin, and the Nai-Dai-jin, the Great Minister of the Left, the Great Minister of the Right, and the Great Minister of the Interior. In Japan, the left is the place of honour. A Law of Ceremonies regulating Court Etiquette was passed, and all high officials were obliged to attend at the South Gate of the palace at 3 a.m. and to remain in the palace until about noon. A strict census of the free people, great and small, was taken. Slavery and forced labour were regulated so that "gladness should be the means of using the people's services." The boundaries of the provinces and of urban and village communities were fixed, and the acreage of cultivated land defined. Hitherto the people could only communicate with their Sovereign through his Ministers, but now a petition-box was placed in the palace courtyard in which anyone, irrespective of rank or condition, could deposit a petition, and an officer was appointed whose duty it was to attend to the box and report the petitions every morning to the Emperor. At the side of the box was a bell which might be struck if action on the petition was too long delayed. Commuted taxes were substituted for those levied in kind. A great number of sumptuary regulations referring to marriage, burial, etc., were also made, and the custom of *junshi*[1] was once more forbidden.

The above were only a moiety of the reforms that were accomplished. All were outshone by two of paramount importance. The first was the escheatment of the lands of the hereditary aristocracy, the reversion of all land throughout the Empire to the ownership of the Crown and the grant of its usufruct to the people for a limited term of years, subject to the payment of defined taxes. The disfranchised nobles were consoled with State pensions and vested also with some degree of supervision over the new provincial Governors who were nominated by the Crown. This great economic change was effected by a single edict and it met with no resistance. It

[1] I.e. suicide of a retainer on the death of his lord (v. p. 36).

was the harbinger of a similar and equally great change made twelve centuries later, when feudalism was abolished and the fiefs mediatised.

The original unit of society was the Uji, the family composed of persons bearing the same name and all owing allegiance to one head of the whole Uji, whose position was hereditary and regulated by primogeniture. The members of the Uji were the aristocrats and upper classes. The lower orders of the people, farmers and artisans, were attached to the Uji as Tomobe —attendants—and as far as the possession of any constitutional rights is concerned were mere nameless serfs, entitled only to use what corresponds to our Christian names. No direct communication with the throne was possible on the part of any member of an Uji except through its head, the Omi or Muraji, and they again only through the principal of all the heads—the officials known as the O Omi and O Muraji, the pre-eminent Grandees, of which the former was the senior. Now these restrictions were removed, and all the people belonging to recognised Uji were recognised as responsible units of the nation, entitled to receive their Sovereign's edicts and to appeal to him directly. This, the second of the two great reforms, was a radical change in the social life of the nation, having as one of its consequences the centring of the national loyalty upon the Emperor rather than on hereditary family chiefs. Generally speaking the reforms accomplished in the reign of Kotoku were on a scale no less wide and comprehensive than those made at the beginning of Meiji, twelve centuries later, when Western civilisation supplanted that of China.

The Emperor Kotoku died in 655, and on his death the Empress Kogiyoku was restored to the throne. In her second reign she is known as the Empress Saimei (655–661). The principal incidents in it were expeditions against the Emishi (or Ainu), and renewed diplomatic interference in the perpetual quarrels of the three Kingdoms of Korea. An interregnum followed her death. Her successor, the Emperor Tenchi (668–671), i.e. the Prince Naka, her son, who had with graceful self-denial ceded the throne to Kotoku sixteen years previously, and to his mother seven years previously, did not assume possession of the sacred Regalia till 668, and his reign only lasted for four years. Early in the interregnum Japan, whose diplomatic had been converted into military interference in Korea, and who had sent a great fleet and army to enforce her views, was defeated in the most crushing manner and the expedition entirely destroyed.

Thenceforward she ceased to interfere in Korean affairs; but a stream of Korean emigration still continued to flow to her islands from two of the kingdoms which were, in the progress of time, overwhelmed and absorbed by the third. Prince Naka, under whose regency the ill-fated expedition had been organised, probably found it prudent to live down its odium before taking his rightful place on the throne. Kamatari, who had shared with him the responsibility and labours of all the great reforms that had been carried through by both, died early in the reign. To the last the two had conserved their close friendship, and when Tenchi ascended the throne he showered on his friend and coadjutor all the honours that were in his power, and added to them still higher posthumous honours when he was dead. He made him Chief Minister of State and sanctioned the substitution of the surname of Fujiwara for that of the time-honoured Nakatomi, and the foundation of the new family of Fujiwara—wistaria field—which survives to this day and is, next to the Imperial line, the greatest in all Japanese history, glorified both by its divine descent and by the long career of its members as the Highest Ministers of the State. Henceforward the Nakatomi disappear from history and the Fujiwara take their place.

During the remainder of the seventh century the throne was occupied by three Emperors and one Empress. Their reigns were marked by further domestic legislation to consolidate the great reforms, but the succession to the throne was once more not deficient in the elements of tragedy. The Emperor Temmu (673–686), before establishing himself on the throne, had to prove himself victorious in a bitterly-fought civil war which ended in the defeat and suicide of his predecessor, the Emperor Kobun (672–673) at the age of twenty-five years after a reign of only a few months' duration. Temmu had "a majestic and intelligent appearance. When he grew to manhood he was virile and martial. He was skilled in astronomy and the art of becoming invisible." The Empress Jito (690–697)—her own title in life was the Princess of the Broad Plain of High Heaven—his widow and successor, who assumed the throne after an interregnum of seven years, was of reserved manners and a liberal disposition, possessed of motherly virtues and a lover of courtesy and economy. She had taken an active part in the field by her husband's side in the civil war, addressing the troops, mingling with the throng and forming plans by which several tens of thousands of fearless men were separately ordered to take up their posts in all the most defensible positions on the passes of the

eastern mountains. She abdicated after a reign of seven years, and the history of her reign brings the *Nihongi* to a close. Among the many sumptuary rules made by the Emperor Temmu was one abolishing the practice of crawling on the knees and hands when in the Presence and another permitting women over forty years of age to ride astride on horseback. In the eleventh year of his reign there was a great earthquake :

" Throughout the country men and women shrieked aloud and knew not east from west. Mountains fell down and rivers gushed forth. The official buildings of the provinces and districts, the barns and houses of the common people, the temples, pagodas and shrines were destroyed in numbers which surpass all estimate. In consequence many of the people and of domestic animals were killed or injured. The hot springs of Iyo dried up and ceased to flow. In the province of Tosa more than 500,000 shiro of cultivated land were swallowed up and became sea. Never before had there been such an earthquake."

The influence of the Fujiwara continued to increase, and the forty-second Emperor, Mommu (697–707), added to it by choosing his Empress from among the daughters of the family, thus initiating a practice which continued through, and had a great influence on, the history of the following four centuries, and which continued till the twentieth century.

During his reign a complete code of civil and criminal laws was prepared and promulgated. It is known as the code of Taiho, Taiho (" Great Treasure ") being the *nengo* of the period (701–704) in which it appeared. Official rules and regulations were later on appended to it, and the whole in its complete form became a very comprehensive code. The laws of Shotoku Taishi have been previously referred to, but they formed an ethical rather than a legal code. A real code of law had been issued by the Empress Jito, but its working had not proved satisfactory, and it was now replaced by the much more elaborate code of Taiho.

" The basic principle of the code was that the people at large, without regard to rank or pedigree, owed equal duty to the State ; that only those having special claims on public benevolence were entitled to fixed exemptions, and that intellectual capacity and attainments were the qualifications for office, and not noble birth " (Hall).

This last principle is remarkable in view of the fact that the code was compiled under the supervision of the most blue-blooded aristocrats of the Empire and that scarcely twenty years previously the Emperor Temmu had decreed that—

"The lineage as well as the character of all candidates for office should be always inquired into, and that none whose lineage is insufficient are eligible for appointment, even although their character, conduct and capacity may be unexceptionable."

The provisions of the Taiho code in this respect were not very strictly observed, and it is only in the present day that office in Japan has become open to every class of the community, and that even the humblest birth is no obstacle to rising to the highest ranks in the service of the State. The principle enunciated with such emphasis in the Taiho code was no doubt then intended to apply only to what might be called the gentry, no lower class being entitled to any consideration whatever.

The Emperor Mommu died in the year 707 at the age of twenty-five years. The principle of primogeniture was revived by the Emperor Temmu after having been in abeyance for several centuries, but when Mommu died his only son was still an infant. He therefore directed that the throne should be occupied by his mother until the son came of age, and she accordingly succeeded him and became the Empress Gemmyo (708–715), the forty-third Sovereign.

NOTE

The quotations in the foregoing chapters are, except where otherwise indicated, taken or adapted from the late Dr. Aston's masterly translation of the *Nihongi*, published in the Transactions of the Japan Society of London. Those in the succeeding chapters, from the *Nihon Guaishi*, are, in like manner, taken from Sir Ernest Satow's equally masterly translation published fifty years ago in the *Japan Weekly Mail*, and now inaccessible to general readers. Those from Sei Shonagon's *Pillow Sketches* are condensed from Dr. Aston's *History of Japanes Literature.*

CHAPTER IV

THE NARA EPOCH

In the second year of the Empress Gemmyo's reign, the Court at last found a permanent abiding place, and Nara became the capital of the Empire. Hitherto the old custom, transmitted from the death of Jimmu, by which every Emperor built himself a new palace on a different site or even in a different district to that in which his predecessor had lived, had been strictly followed. The increasing responsibilities of the Imperial Government, consequent on the centralisation of effective authority in its own hands and the breaking of the power of the former hereditary chieftains who were absolute in the provinces, as the result of the Great Reforms, rendered it necessary that more extended accommodation for the public offices should be found than could be provided in buildings that were designed to last at most for only a couple of decades. Architecture had made giant strides under the influence of Buddhism, which required not only gorgeous ceremonials but splendid temples, and equally splendid palaces were now required by the Court in which the great State festivals and functions could be held with becoming dignity. Buddhism had also another influence in promoting this change, in that it had no sympathy with the Shinto belief of contamination attaching itself to the dwelling in which death had taken place.

The choice of Nara shows, in itself, even if other evidence were wanting, that in those days the Japanese were as sensible of the beauties of nature as are their descendants of to-day. Few of the capitals of the world excel it in this respect. It lies at the base of a range of gently rising hills, in a richly cultivated plain, on the verge of a noble park, where herds of tame deer wander freely among gigantic cryptomeria, oaks and venerable pines, and where, in spring-time, groves of cherry and plum trees glow with a mass of delicately-tinted blossoms. Nothing now remains of the old town or palace, and the present town, not one-

tenth of its former size, is entirely modern. But the temples and pagodas and the colossal bronze statue of Buddha, the largest statue of cast bronze in the world, worthy to be described as another wonder of the world, that owed their existence to the piety of the sovereigns and people of the Nara epoch, have been preserved and bear testimony to the high degree of architectural and artistic skill that the Japanese had then attained.

Literature also lends its aid to testify to the advanced civilisation which must have characterised the whole national life. It was in the Nara epoch that the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* were completed, while another later book, which happily also survives, the *Manyoshiu* (" Collection of One Thousand Leaves "), an anthology of the poetry of the eighth and ninth centuries, shows that the Nara epoch was emphatically the golden age of poetry, of a poetry which is " delicate in sentiment and refined in language, and displays exquisite skill of phrase with a careful adherence to certain canons of composition of its own." The authors of this poetry included many women, and the men were all either courtiers, like the women, or high officials of noble lineage. Nothing has come down to us from the humbler classes, but a people who could produce such poetry, even if it was only their upper classes, must have left all traces of barbarism far behind them.

Seven sovereigns reigned at Nara. The first two and the fourth were Empresses. It was the period when the new religion of Buddha was in the full tide of its prosperity and influence. The Emperors, who based their claim to the loyalty of the nation on the divine descent which the tenets of Shintoism ascribed to them, were its fervent disciples. The Fujiwara, who, as the Nakatomi, were hereditary High Priests of Shintoism, became no less fervent, and both Emperors and Empresses gave all their best influence to its encouragement and support. It was not only in the capital that their zeal and industry were displayed : missionaries were sent to, and monasteries and nunneries established in, all the provinces. Even the savage Ainu were not overlooked. Temples and pagodas were built under Court orders and with Court assistance ; services were regularly held, and a miniature shrine was essential in every household. But with all the success, splendour and influence of Buddhism, the archaic religion was not entirely forsaken. Ancestor-worship, one of its most striking principles, never weakened. The great temple of Kasuga no Miya at Nara was founded in 767, in honour of the Shinto gods, Ama-no-Koyane, the divine ancestor of the Fujiwara, and Take-mika-zuchi, the latter of whom, although

there were already two celebrated temples in his honour in other districts, came riding to Nara on a white deer to select the site of his new home. The erection of this temple at great cost showed that Buddhism had not a monopoly of either wealth or devotion, and the Shinto apostles manifested a degree of worldly wisdom that would not misbecome their Christian successors of our own day. They incorporated the old national religion in the new alien faith. The Shinto gods were, they said, *avatars* (incarnations) of Buddhist deities. Even the Sun-Goddess herself was an *avatar* of the Buddha. Both religions might be conscientiously accepted, and the result of this doctrine was that the two became so interfused that both have been universally practised to this day. In every Japanese house there is still, alongside the Buddhist shrine, an altar to the Shinto gods that has been kept ever since the Emperor Shomu issued his orders, and beside both there are memorial tablets bearing the names of the members of the family who are dead but not gone, whose spirits are still with their descendants on earth.

The most far-reaching episodes in the Nara epoch, apart from the spread of Buddhism, were the rise of the Fujiwara family and the establishment in the Court of the practice of abdication, a practice which became and continues to be widespread among all classes in Japan. The exact rendering of the term used to describe it is " hidden dwelling," dwelling referring not to the house but to the life of the occupant, and it might therefore be translated with more idiomatic accuracy " retirement " ; but when the sovereigns are referred to, "abdication" seems more appropriate. The custom is one of the outcomes of the Buddhist doctrine that perfect peace and happiness can only be obtained by a complete withdrawal from all the cares and anxieties of life. It was first observed by Empresses, of whom three reigned in the eighth century. Each, in turn, gave up her throne to her successor and retired into private life to spend her last days in religious meditation. The first Emperor to follow their example was Shomu (724–749). The abdication was voluntary on his part and no doubt also so on the part of some of his early followers, and their real as well as their ostensible object was the attainment of leisure to be devoted to the service of religion ; but, in the course of time, this object came to be used as a pretext by sovereigns who wished to be relieved of the restraints and irksomeness of the dignity of the throne and at the same time to conserve all its real power, which they continued to exercise as *Ho-O* (" Cloistered Emperors ") in the names of their successors in whose favour they had abdicated. A still further change

was made : the abdication ceased to be voluntary and became at times compulsory, at the bidding of the family who, among all subjects, were closest to the throne.

The influence exercised on the throne and the services rendered to the nation in the period of Great Reform by Nakatomi no Kamatari, the founder of the Fujiwara family, have been already described. His successors for many generations not only retained but amplified the dignity and influence to which he had attained, and in their ability, vigour and industry, showed themselves worthy descendants of the founder. The theory of the Japanese constitution was that of an unrestricted autocracy in which the will of the Emperor was absolute and unquestionable. Throughout the early centuries of history down to the era at which we have now arrived the Emperors were rulers in fact as well as in theory, personally directing their Governments and leading their armies in the field. The growing influence of Buddhism and the consequent sacrifice in the Court of civil administrative duties to religious services gave the Fujiwara an opportunity to extend their authority of which they were not slow to avail themselves. They gradually made themselves the virtual rulers of the country. Not only did the office of *Daijo Daijin*—First Minister of State—an office created by the Emperor Tenchi in 671 in favour of his own son, a Prince of exceptional merit and ability—become hereditary in the family, but later on they added to it that of *Kuambaku*, a still higher dignity, which constitutes the holder the personal representative of the Sovereign at all times and the regent of the Empire during his minority, and entitles him to precedence over all other subjects. Their influence was still further intensified by the fact that their daughters became the wives or concubines of the Emperors and of the Princes of the Imperial line and therefore the mothers of successive occupants of the throne, so that they stood as relatives in a senior degree to the Emperors, and possessed and exercised all the moral authority which that relationship entails as well as the influence conferred by hereditary office and strong will.

During the early years of their greatness their authority was honestly used in the service of the throne and for the benefit of the people, by statesmen whose ability, industry and uprightness entitle them to an honourable place in the records of their country ; but, as time went on, their lust of power became unbridled, and while the nominal prerogatives of the throne were preserved as the sole fount of honour and power, all real power fell into the hands of the Fujiwara. They used it unscrupulously for the advancement of their own family, and through-

out four centuries they continued to monopolise all the offices, high or low, of the Government. No one, not of Fujiwara blood, could enter their presence; no one, no matter what his or her degree, could approach the Emperor except through them.

The petition-box instituted in the Great Reform became a nullity. As Kuambaku, the head of the family asserted his right to open all petitions and to reject them or not at his own will, with or without reference to the Emperor to whom they were addressed. The system of abdication, too, proved to be a useful weapon in their hands. The Emperors, encouraged in all forms of indolent self-indulgence, as a rule became mere *fainéants*, devoted perhaps to religion, art or literature, or, lower still, to the ladies of the Court, but in either category abandoning all their serious duties to their Fujiwara Ministers and kinsmen. There were exceptions, of course. Some endeavoured to assert themselves and to exercise their prerogatives. Whenever one did so, whenever anyone on arriving at manhood gave the least sign of independent thought or action, he was promptly forced to abdicate, and the throne was given to a child or a boy who would be wholly under the control of the regent, his grandfather or uncle on the mother's side. The practice was carried to such a degree that there were sometimes three Emperors simultaneously alive, one actually on the throne and two who had abdicated. The claim grew with its indulgence, and it was so used not only by the Fujiwara but by their successors in power that on one occasion, long after their downfall, there were four ex-Emperors, all of whom had been forced to abdicate at ages varying from seventeen to twenty-six, while the Emperor on the throne was a boy of seventeen.

Shomu (724–749), the first Emperor in the Nara period, was the son of a Fujiwara lady and the husband of another. The Fujiwara had not yet attained to the summit of their grandeur, but all Shomu's thoughts and energies were concentrated on the advancement of Buddhism, and his abdication, at the age of forty-nine after a reign of twenty-five years, was in reality as well as in theory the result of his earnest desire to enter religion. Great as was his devotion, it was exceeded by that of his wife—the Empress Komiyo (Splendour), equally renowned for her piety, her dazzling beauty, her wit, intelligence and strong character. She became the mother of another Empress who reigned in her own right, Koken (749–759). It is said that the mother "in a dream received a golden image of the Goddess of Mercy, holding a baby in her arms," and

that the Empress Koken was born from a similar miraculous conception to that which preceded the birth of Shotoku Daishi. In 749, on the abdication of her putative father, who left no son, Koken ascended the throne. Nine years later she nominally abdicated in favour of the Emperor Junnin (758–764) and became a nun, but she retained the executive in her own hands so effectively that, when the new Emperor displeased her, she promptly dethroned him by force and banished him, and made the conditions of his exile so severe that the unhappy Emperor attempted to escape and was ruthlessly killed. She then openly re-entered life herself, abandoned her nun's veil and resumed the throne, this time under the title of Shotoku (765–770), and reigned five more years until her death.

The Empress Koken exceeded even her brilliant mother in beauty, ability, in her masculine character, and even in her devotion to the tenets of Buddhism. The casting of the great Daibutsu statue, first designed by the Emperor Shomu, was after many failures at last successfully accomplished, and the image was unveiled in the first year of her reign in a gorgeous ceremony of State, at which 10,000 priests and all the most skilful musicians of the nation officiated, while the Empress herself led a great procession of the dignitaries of the Empire, all in their full-dress uniforms. She has, with all her religious sanctity, not left behind her an entirely unsullied reputation. She formed an undisguised liaison with the head of the Fujiwara of the time, and later transferred her affections to a famous monk named Dokio, eloquent, accomplished, witty and handsome. He gained a control over the Empress which exceeded that of another monk of another church over the Empress-Consort in a great Empire in the twentieth century, and was elevated to the highest dignity of the priesthood, which made him the equal in rank of the great Ministers of State. To culminate all her favours, the Empress gave him herself, and the daughter of the Gods of Heaven, their vicegerent on earth, became the mistress of a priest of an alien religion. The priest became more and more ostentatious. He modelled his life on the Imperial scale, and it was even said that he raised his eyes to the throne and that the Empress was not unwilling to gratify him. She was forbidden to do so by an oracle from Hachiman, the God of War, and she died soon after. Then all the enemies whom the priest had made by his arrogance gathered around him, and he was banished from the capital.

Two more sovereigns reigned at Nara, and then in 784, in

the reign of the Emperor Kwammu (782–806), the site of the capital was once more changed, and Nara, rich as it was in the beauties both of nature and art, was forsaken. A new site was at first found at Nagaoka in the same province, but as that did not win the favour of the Emperor another had to be sought. It was at last found in the place where the Imperial city of Kyoto has now stood for 1,100 years, and thither the Court and Government moved in 805. The city, like Nara, in its natural surroundings one of the most beautiful in the world, was known during the first four centuries of its existence as Heian-jo, the Castle of Peace, and these centuries are known in Japanese history as the Heian period, which lasted from the foundation of the new capital till the establishment of the first Shogunate at Kamakura in 1192. Then it lost its historic title and it came to be known simply as Kyoto, "the capital city." It continued to be the official residence of the Emperors till 1868 when, after the Restoration, the Court and capital were moved to Tokyo, where they now are.

CHAPTER V

THE HEIAN EPOCH

THE history of the Heian epoch is that of the dominance of the Fujiwara in the Court and of the gradual rise of the military class in the provinces, culminating in the foundation of a new Government at Kamakura. The latter is described in the succeeding chapter. At Kyoto the arrogance and autocracy of the Fujiwara continued almost without a check. During the epoch, which lasted from the death of the Emperor Kwammu in 806 till the beginning of the Gempei war in 1156, there were in all twenty-five Emperors, and among them all there are only three who can be said to have been real exceptions to the rule that the sovereign was a mere figurehead in a government, the real authority of which never fell from the hands of the Fujiwara. In the last half they failed to retain their high degree of executive efficiency, and in its closing years they themselves became the *fainéants* which they had made the Emperors, until finally all their power lapsed into the hands of the military class.

Even during the earlier period their influence was not always unchallenged. The Emperor Uda (888–898) had for his tutor when young, and his adviser when he came to the throne at the age of twenty-two, Sugawara Michizane, a member of a family of less illustrious lineage than the Fujiwara, but second only to them among the nobility of the Court, and the two, the young Emperor and the tutor, combined to free the throne from its humiliating tutelage. Michizane was a man of profound scholarship, still reputed to have been the greatest Chinese scholar that Japan has ever produced. He became *U-Daijin* (Third Minister of State) in 899, and his wisdom and learning were such that he displaced the Fujiwara as the principal councillor of the Emperor. But the alliance between Emperor and Minister was soon ended. The Fujiwara were all-powerful. The Emperor was deposed and forced to retire to a monastery, and his son Daigo (898–930) was placed on the

throne in his stead. The new Emperor was a boy, fourteen years of age, easily influenced by the implacable Fujiwara, and a decree was issued by which Michizane was banished to Kyushu. He was forbidden to take his wife and children, of whom he had twenty-three, with him, and the children, too, were separated not only from their father but from each other and also banished to different places. Poverty was added to banishment. Sometimes in his exile Michizane had not the means wherewith to purchase oil for his lamp and, after two years of suffering in solitude, he died. The cloistered Emperor had made a vain effort to save him. He endeavoured to appeal for mercy to his son on the throne, but the palace guards were forbidden by the Fujiwara regent to admit him, though he waited through the whole of a winter's day seated on a mat outside the palace gate.

Michizane died in loneliness, poverty and exile, but his virtues were recognised after his death, and posthumous honour far above that accorded to his persecutors has been rendered to him by all succeeding generations of his countrymen. He was deified under the title of Tenjin. As his body was being carried to the grave the bullocks drawing the funeral car suddenly stopped and refused to proceed. His grave was dug where they stopped, and over it the first temple in his honour was afterwards built. It was followed by many more in all parts of the country, the greatest being in the old capital from which he was banished; and no deity in the Shinto pantheon is more honoured by the prayers of the nation. He is worshipped as the God of Calligraphy, and just as soldiers pray to Hachiman, the God of War, so do little children, from every school, offer up their prayers to the great and good God to help them and give them success in the acquisition of an art which is as difficult to acquire as it is beautiful.

Michizane was not the only famous scholar of the Heian era. In theology the great Buddhist priests, posthumously known as Dengyo Daishi and Kobo Daishi (Great Teacher who spreads abroad the Law), after long years of study in China brought back with them the inspiration which culminated in the foundation of two new sects of Japanese Buddhism. At Hiyei San, the wealthy monastery on the north of Kyoto that was destined to play a great part in history, Dengyo founded the Tendai school, which teaches that a knowledge of Buddha may be attained by meditation and wisdom, and that the path to salvation is to be found in that knowledge. Kobo founded the Shingon sect, which teaches that perfect wisdom is the

true condition of Buddhaship, and that it is attained by passing through ten stages of spiritual knowledge, starting from complete ignorance. Kobo Daishi was also a great calligraphist, and in addition to his apostolic services he bequeathed to his country the Hiragana, one of the two phonetic syllabaries which, through all the intervening centuries down to the present day, have done so much to lighten the heart-breaking difficulties of the Chinese script as adapted to the Japanese language. The other syllabary, the Katakana, had been previously devised by Kibi-no-Mabi, a statesman whose knowledge of the Chinese classics and of philosophy, mathematics and other sciences was so profound that he might well be termed the Sir Isaac Newton of his day. Both syllabaries were the product of the Heian epoch, and the value of both through all intervening ages has been inestimable. Many of the most popular works in early literature were entirely written in them and could never have been written without them, and the Hiragana has always been the script which women have mainly used both for their correspondence and literature.

As already stated, Literature first raised its head in Japan in the Nara epoch. It made immense progress in the Heian epoch, which may be regarded as pre-eminently the classic age. The provinces were the homes of rude and uncultured soldiers, who were always fighting and who neither knew nor cared for any of the gentle arts of life. The contrast presented by the capital was a vivid one. There a degree of refined culture was found which it is difficult to believe could have existed at that early period. It was, it is to be remembered, contemporaneous with England between the times of Alfred the Great and the Norman kings, when nobles, knights and commoners were all alike sunk in ignorance and superstition, little better than untutored savages, and when the little learning that there was was the monopoly of the clergy. In Japan the clergy also were pre-eminent in scholarship, but they had far from a monopoly of the subject. History, theology and science were left to them, but poetry, romance and *belles-lettres* in general were the delight of the Court, and women were prominent among their most brilliant cultivators.

"It is a remarkable and unexampled fact that a very large and important part of the best literature which Japan has produced was written by women. A good share of the Nara poetry is of feminine authorship. In the Heian period the women took a still more conspicuous part in maintaining the honour of the native literature. The two greatest works which have come down to us from this time are both by women." (Aston.)

So highly was poetry valued that there was a special Department of Poetry among the bureaux of the Government, and poetical tournaments were among the chief amusements of the Court—amusements pursued with great seriousness, under the supervision of expert judges, who gave their verdict on the merits of the competitors' productions after a most critical examination. The *Kokinshu* (Ancient and Modern Poems) is an anthology of the poetry of this period, similar to the *Manyoshiu* in the Nara period, containing 1,100 selected poems, edited by Ki-no-Tsuruyuki, himself a great poet, and both the anthology itself and the essay on poetry by its editor, which serves as its preface, are still models of everything that is perfect in the literature of prose or poetry. Several of the poems are by women, but the two works to which Dr. Aston refers are both in prose, one, the *Genji Monogatari*, or " Story of Genji," a realistic novel by Murasaki Shikibu, and the other the *Makura Zoshi*, " Pillow Sketches," by Sei Shonagon. Both authoresses were of noble birth, attached to the Court in which they spent their active lives as ladies-in-waiting in daily intimate association with the Empress, and both have left to us graphic pictures of the Court life in which they have limned with facile brush (the Japanese pen is a brush) the daily lives of all in it from the Emperor and Empress downwards. Sei Shonagon, who retired to the peace of a convent in her later years, in closing her work, says that what she has written is—

" A record of what I have seen with my eyes and felt in my heart, not written that others might read them, but put together without any connection or sequence to solace the loneliness of my home life."

The pictures of the Court which both authoresses give is one of a happy, laughter-loving, lotus-eating, refined people; of music, dancing and poetry; of merry picnics by day to view the cherry or plum blossoms, or by moonlight to float tranquilly down the river; of the interchange of afternoon and evening parties among the great families; of society that was not restricted by any Calvinistic morality, but in which the immorality that was often apparent was shredded of all its grossness. Archery, football and hunting were among the outdoor amusements of the men. Poetry was a never-failing accompaniment to every incident. Pens and paper were provided for every guest at a dinner-party, and poems had to be composed on a theme set by the host. The practice was the same at picnics. Verses on the beauties of the flowers were as much an attraction as the flowers themselves.

"At the 'winding-water fête' princes, high officials, courtiers and noble ladies seated themselves by the banks of a rivulet meandering gently through some fair park and launched tiny cups of mulled wine upon the current, each composing a stanza as the little messenger reached him, or drinking its contents by way of penalty for lack of poetic inspiration." (Brinkley.)

The changing seasons; the pleasures and sorrows of love, not only the love of women, but of home, country and honour; the beauties of nature in their mildest aspects; the autumn moon; the song of the nightingale; the calling of the deer; the homeward flight of the wild geese at evening; waves breaking on the rocks; all these are the subjects of Japanese poetry, and all are treated with every possible refinement of thought and diction. It may well be doubted whether in the whole of the wide world there was a contemporaneous Court so full of the most æsthetic culture as was that of Japan in the Nara and Heian epochs, while the fighting-men of the Empire were, it will be seen later on, as stalwart and brave as the dalliants of the Court were accomplished and refined.

Human nature has its similitudes in all ages and in all countries. It is now more than nine hundred years since Sei Shonagon jotted down her daily thoughts in a country 12,000 miles away, and yet much of what she says might easily come from the lips or pen of a lady "in society" in England to-day.

"She thought it detestable to find a hair on her pen when writing—to have a dog which barked at a lover's coming, 'one would like to kill that dog'—to have a lover who, when carefully hidden, falls asleep and snores—to be interrupted when telling a good story. A frivolous woman is despicable. A nursery where the baby is dead is distressing. So are a fireplace in which the fire has gone out and a man who cruelly beats a horse. It is grievous when, late at night, one is awaiting 'a special friend' with beating heart and, on answering a soft knock at the door, finds a complete stranger. One is cheered by the discourse of a priest who speaks clearly, especially if he is handsome, when, if the eyes are fixed on his face, it is easier to feel the holiness of his discourse. If he is ugly one is in danger of turning away and forgetting. A moonlight night recalls the past. So does a wet day when, shut up in the house, one re-reads the letters of an old lover. It is a rare thing to find a servant who never complains, or a son-in-law who is praised by his father-in-law, and it makes one uneasy to send a new servant with a secret message or to eat strawberries in the dark. Among things to be hated are a bore who tells long stories when one is busy; a crying child, a barking dog or a croaking raven, when one wants to be quiet; creaking wheels or a rasping ink-stone; a man, with whom one is on good terms, who praises another woman to one's face; a letter from home with no news in it; while among things to be liked are well-blackened teeth and a handsome man who stops to ask the way."

From these ideas of a lady, who knew Court and life well and who had also the experience of a convent, some inferences can be drawn as to the social life of the capital of Japan in the ninth and tenth centuries, always remembering that Japan in those days meant the upper classes, just as it did in the far later days of Tokugawa feudalism. The mass of the people were of no account. No one cared what they thought or did so long as they fulfilled their allotted function of ministering to the luxuries and necessities of those above them. This life continued without a break or change from the foundation of the capital till it was rudely interrupted in the middle of the twelfth century by the wars of the Gempei, and the administration of the Empire fell from the hands of the Fujiwara into those of the military autocrats who carved their way to power with their swords.

CHAPTER VI

THE WARS OF THE GEMPEI

THE selfish and unscrupulous monopoly of all civil offices in the capital and Court which the Fujiwara arrogated to themselves forced the members of other aristocratic families to seek outlets for their energies in military service in the provinces. Throughout the Heian epoch there was constant occupation for the armed forces of the Crown on the northern frontier which was steadily being advanced further northwards as the aborigines, fighting desperately all the time, were being pushed back by the advancing Japanese settlers. When the savage aborigines had been driven away, order had still to be maintained and taxes collected. Neither of the Southern Islands was free from revolts, and generally it may be said that there was no time at which there was not occupation for soldiers somewhere outside the "Home Provinces"—the five provinces around the capital. War indeed occupied so large a share in the thoughts and duties of the Government that a special War Department was established, which ranked in importance next after the Privy Council, and constant care was exercised to secure proper equipment and the regular performance of military exercises. Conscription was in force from a very early date. At first, all Japanese without distinction of class were soldiers, expected when the need arose to follow the Emperor or his generals to the field. As the population increased the necessity for all to fight became less, while the need became greater that some should remain behind to provide the necessaries of life for all, both for those who were fighting and those who were left behind. The strongest, brightest and most active were therefore chosen to be trained in arms, while the weak, dull and sluggish became tillers of the soil and, as life gradually became more complex, artisans and traders.

This practice in process of time generated a military class, distinct from the rest of the population, and as their functions became more specialised they developed into the *samurai* who,

in the subsequent feudal ages, played so great a part in Japanese history. The sons of soldiers naturally followed their fathers' careers, inherited their spirit and were trained by them from boyhood in the use of arms. In this way the military class became hereditary and military service a monopoly rigidly conserved to its members, who constituted a class of aristocrats and maintained a haughty exclusiveness from the rest of the population.

In 689 the Empress Jito decreed that one-fourth of the able-bodied men between twenty and sixty years of age in each province should undergo yearly military training. This decree was amended by her successor, the Emperor Mommu, who increased the number called up to one-third, and decreed that each province should maintain one army corps, the numerical strength of the army corps varying according to the extent of the province. Three divisions of guards, recruited from the provincial troops, were stationed in the capital. The number of provinces after the Great Reform was sixty-six, each of them being under a governor (*Kokushi*), who at first was an official appointed by the Government for a specified term. They were not necessarily military officers. Many of them were Fujiwara, who had always clung to the civil offices of the Government and been content to delegate all military duties to others; but others were soldiers and, as the administration of the Fujiwara in the capital, at first vigorous and efficient, declined in keeping with their growing indolence and incapacity, the local governors gradually asserted their own freedom from all control on the part of the Central Government and succeeded, firstly, in making their offices permanent and, finally, in making themselves owners of the provinces to which they had been originally sent to hold as a charge for the Emperor. It was from such a beginning that the great system of feudal ownership gradually arose.

In the twelfth century two great families, the Taira and the Minamoto, both tracing their descent directly from Imperial ancestors, began to dispute the authority of the Fujiwara. Both families had been long on active service outside the capital and had not only developed among their own members a high degree of military skill and valour, but had attracted to their banners the best fighting-men of all parts of the Empire. The interests which both chiefs and followers had in common were many and vital. On the number, courage and skill of his followers depended the chief's power to hold and increase his estates, for might soon became right, while the followers

looked to the chief for protection and support at all times and for rewards when victory over his rivals placed it in the chief's power to bestow them. In this way the relationship of lord and vassal came to be established and, like the profession of arms, it also became hereditary. Unbroken success was naturally a strong bait to adventurers who gravitated towards leaders of proved capacity, and the two families that have been mentioned became the most powerful military influences in the Empire. It was evident that in time either must become the controlling influence in the Government.

Every succeeding generation of the Fujiwara surrendered itself more and more to the languorous pleasures of the Court. They sank into effeminacy, into lives of unrestrained self-indulgence, of sensualism or of absorption in poetry, music or dancing, and offered themselves as a ready prey to the vigorous, capable and ambitious soldiers who had borne all the hard military service of the Empire and who fretted under the domination of courtiers living in luxury and security. In the last half of the twelfth century both the great military families were fortunate in having leaders of pre-eminent ability, both of them the greatest warriors of their time. At the head of the Taira was Kiyomori, and at that of the Minamoto, Yoshitomo. Both were rivals in the Court as well as in the field, and both came into serious conflict owing to the sides they took in a Court intrigue in the year 1159.

This was the beginning of what is known as the Gempei war, the end of which was not reached till 1185. It is compared to the War of the Roses, to the incidents of which many of those of the Gempei bear strong resemblance. The colours of the rival families were those of the Roses, the Taira fighting under a red, and the Minamoto under a white, standard. Gen and Hei are the Sinico-Japanese renderings of the ideographs used to express Minamoto and Taira, and the two in composition become Gempei.

In the first stage of the war the Minamoto suffered a crushing defeat. Yoshitomo fled from the battlefield, attended by only thirty horsemen, but fell by the hands of treacherous assassins a few weeks later. The power of the Minamoto was broken. They were scattered far and wide, but two sons of their leader survived the general holocaust. One was Yoritomo, who at the time of the débâcle was only thirteen years of age. He was captured and brought before Kiyomori, who would have put him to death had not his beauty and high spirit won the heart of Iki no Ama, the nun Iki, Kiyomori's stepmother,

who, in her sorrow for the loss of her son who died in his early youth, had shaved her head and retired to a convent. She thought she saw a resemblance to her own boy in Yoritomo, and with eyes full of tears she now besought Kiyomori's mercy for him. The death sentence was reluctantly commuted to banishment to the remote province of Izu, and as the boy left the presence he held his head so high and looked so fearlessly in the eyes of the Taira officers, who stood around, that they said their lord, in sparing his life, was letting loose a tiger in the fields.

The second son who escaped was Yoshitsune, the youngest son of Yoshitomo's lovely mistress Tokiwa, who, to save her children from death, gave herself to her lover's victor. She saved her children, but all three were sent to monasteries to be brought up as monks, vowed to celibacy. Yoshitsune was the youngest of the three, only two years old when his father died. The fathers of the monastery failed in all their efforts to make him one of their own order. His brothers made no resistance, but fencing, archery and horsemanship had more attractions for him than books and rosaries, and he grew up to be a daring and dashing soldier, a hero whose bravery and ill fortunes render him no less the darling of not only the maidens who weep over his mother's sad story but of the youths of modern Japan, who love in their school games to fight again the battles of the Gempei war, when the parts of Yoshitsune and his brave and devoted henchman, Benkei, are always taken by the best and strongest in the school.

Kiyomori, having crushed his rival, was supreme at Kyoto and became the first of the great military despots of whom there was destined to be a long list in Japanese history. The Taira succeeded to the position formerly held by the Fujiwara. Their chief became *Daijo Daijin* and imitated the long-established custom of the Fujiwara by marrying his daughter, the Lady Virtue, to the Emperor Takakura (1169–1180) and then deposing him and placing her son and his own grandson, Antoku (1180–1185), on the throne, when only two years old. Kiyomori, governing with all the delegated authority of an infant Sovereign, was absolute. His relatives and followers monopolised all the offices of the State. His pride and ostentation were unbounded. He exacted Imperial honours for himself wherever he went and, not satisfied with Kyoto, he built a new palace at Fukuwara, where the great commercial city of Kobe now stands, and brought the child-Emperor there with him, so that it became for the time the capital of the Empire.

In 1181 Kiyomori died, hated and feared by everyone outside his own family. His surviving son, his successor in the chieftainship, had little of the father's capacity, while Yoritomo, the tiger who had been released when a boy, had grown to manhood and, far away in the Kwanto, the Eastern Provinces, had again raised the white standard of the Minamoto and gathered around him a formidable army of the vigorous fighting-men of the East. The flames of the Gempei war once more broke forth. Yoritomo had vicissitudes of fortune like all adventurers, but in the end he marched on Kyoto, drove the Taira from it, then captured the palace at Fukuwara, and at the battle of Ichi-no-Tani, near it, gained another crushing victory over his hereditary foes. Much of his success was due to the skill and impetuous valour of his half-brother Yoshitsune, who was always in the van of the army and its commander when Yoritomo was not present.

A year and a quarter passed away after the battle of Ichi-no-Tani. The Taira reorganised themselves, and with a fleet of five hundred ships held the Straits of Shimonoseki, the western exit from the Inland Sea. They had been beaten on land and

"had been pursued as the hawk urges the pheasants when the moors are burnt and no cover is left." (*Nihon Guaishi.*)

but they still had confidence in their skill on sea. Yoshitsune followed them with seven hundred ships, and at last the two fleets met on a bright morning in May (May 25, 1185). The Taira ships were encumbered with their women and children of all degrees from Kiyomori's widow, the Empress and the child-Emperor downwards. The Minamoto fought in unencumbered ships, with sailors eager to emulate on the sea the victories of their soldiers on land. The shores of the Straits on both sides were lined with their cavalry ready to cut off fugitives who tried to escape by land, so that—

"The Taira were like a caged bird that cannot escape or a fish in a trap from which there is no escape. All day the battle raged. The sound of the battle-cry raised on both sides, with the song of the turnip-headed arrows as they crossed each other's course, was startling to hear, audible, one would think, as far as the azure sky above and re-echoing downwards to the depths of the sea." (*Nihon Guaishi.*)

The Taira fought with the courage of desperation, and the first Minamoto attack was repulsed. Favourable omens then came to cheer the Minamoto and to dismay the Taira. "With closed eyes and joined palms Yoshitsune prayed for aid to Hachiman Daibosatsu" (Hachiman, the great Buddhist Saint, the

God of War, the patron god of the Minamoto, whose full title was emblazoned on all their white banners) and a pair of white doves—the birds which once helped to save Yoritomo's life, just as the spider did Bruce's, and are sacred to the god Hachiman—flew thither and perched on Yoshitsune's standard, while the flag of the Minamoto appeared in a black cloud that suddenly darkened the sky, hitherto bright in the May sunshine. Then treachery played its foul part. Taguchi, a Kyushu peer, allied with the Taira though not of their blood, who had joined them with three hundred ships manned by the troops of Kyushu, deserted in the crisis of the action and, crossing over with all his ships to the other side, turned his arrows on his former friends.

"How true is it that Heaven may be reckoned upon; earth may be reckoned upon: the only thing on which we cannot reckon is the heart of man." (*Nihon Guaishi.*)

That decided the fate of the day. The Taira were beaten and their flagship taken, and all was over except the slaughter of the vanquished. It was carried out with ruthless cruelty. The sea was red with Taira blood, and after the battle every member or adherent of the family who could be found, men, women or children, high and low without distinction, were mercilessly slain, women only being spared to be placed in the public brothels, gently-bred ladies of the Court and kitchen wenches all alike. Kiyomori's own family was exterminated, either in the battle or afterwards at the executioner's hands.

"Yoritomo sent his father-in-law to the capital to offer rewards for the discovery of the seed of the Taira who were lying concealed here and there. He buried the young boys alive and put to the sword all those who were approaching manhood. Their mothers and nurses died one by one after them, and lamentations were heard on all sides." (*Nihon Guaishi.*)

The Taira flagship had been defended in the battle to the last. When the battle was approaching its end Tomomori, the bravest of the Taira admirals, who had from the beginning nobly led the fleet without thought of an endeavour to avoid death, left his own ship in a small boat and transferred himself to the flagship on which were the young Emperor; his grandmother, Kiyomori's widow; the nun Iki-dono, who had saved Yoritomo's life when a boy; his mother, the Empress Dowager, Kiyomori's daughter; many ladies of the Court, and the sacred Imperial Regalia. The ladies thronged round Tomomori and asked him how the battle was going. "Ah, ladies," he said laughing,

" you are going to see these fellows from the east." "What a time for jokes," answered the ladies, weeping bitterly. Poor ladies! No long time was left for them in which to weep.

The venerable grandmother, girding herself with the sacred sword, and holding the Imperial Regalia and the young Emperor in her arms, telling him she was taking him " to a fair city beneath the waves, called the Pure Land of Perfect Happiness," sank down to the bottom of the sea, one thousand fathoms deep. All the other ladies followed her, but the Eastern troops hooked on to the hair of the Empress, Kiyomori's daughter and the mother of the young Emperor, and rescued her.

" The young Emperor, eight years old, was so beautiful that he cast a lustre round about. His black locks hung loosely down his back. . . . Alas, the pity of it!—The changeful winds of spring swiftly scattered the flowery august form. Alas, the pain of it!—The rude billows of severance buried the jewel person. Ere ten years of his life had passed he had become drift of the deep sea. In the case of such a virtuous monarch it would be wholly idle to talk of reward and retribution. It is the dragon of the legion above the clouds descending and becoming a fish." (*Heike Monogatari*—Aston—condensed.)

One more incident may be told. All the Taira did not become immediate victims of Yoritomo's blood-lust and hatred. Some escaped from Dan-no-Ura and were scattered as fugitives throughout the country. Among them were two brothers called Tadamitsu and Kagekyo, the sons of Fujiwara no Tadakyo, an old adherent of the Taira, who fell at Dan-no-Ura. Eight years afterwards Yoritomo inspected some new buildings at Kamakura and, in the hope of killing him, Tadamitsu mixed in humble disguise with the workmen around. He was seen and suspected by Yoritomo himself and, on being arrested, a sharp sword was found hidden in his bosom. He at once acknowledged that he was a retainer of the Taira and intended to avenge his dead masters. He was imprisoned and efforts were made to induce him to disclose his accomplices; but he never spoke again, denied himself all drink and food, and died after the lapse of little more than a month. The brother Kagekyo followed his example. He too tried to find a chance of stabbing Yoritomo; he too was arrested and imprisoned, and he too finally refused to eat and died. So ended the two devoted brothers, models—according to the samurai's ethical code, which forbids a vassal to live under the canopy of Heaven with his lord's slayer—of fidelity, bravery and determination, whose names are worthy to be enrolled among the heroes of all ages.

It was Yoshitsune who won both the great battles of the war, Ichi-no-Tani and Dan-no-Ura. Yoritomo remained through all the later stages of the campaign at Kamakura, and thither Yoshitsune proceeded to lay his spoils at the feet of his lord and elder brother. Malicious tongues preceded him with slander and turned the heart of his brother against him. He urged his innocence in vain. He was not only refused admission to the city, but assassins were hired to make away with him. Then he was outlawed and became a homeless fugitive, first amidst the mountains of Yoshino and finally in Mutsu, in the far north, where he had passed his boyhood. There he, the ever faithful Benkei and the few followers who were left, arrived after many thrilling escapes, all disguised as mendicant priests. His old protector had died, but his son reigned in his stead, and to him Yoshitsune appealed for refuge. It was accorded, until peremptory commands came from Kamakura decreeing his destruction. With his little band, he and Benkei, one and all, fought to the last, and when all had died around him, Yoshitsune with his own hand killed his wife and children and then himself. His head was sent to Kamakura " contained in a lacquer box and moistened with strong wine."

CHAPTER VII

THE KAMAKURA EPOCH

When the battle of Dan-no-Ura was over, the Taira annihilated, and the throne rendered vacant, Yoritomo quickly caused the enthronement of a new Emperor, Go Toba (1186–1199), a child like his predecessor, and thenceforward was fortified by the commission of the Emperor in everything he did. The Imperial Regalia had gone down with the last Emperor at Dan-no-Ura. The mirror and the jewels were recovered, but the sword was lost. The original was, however, still safe in its temple home at Atsuta, and all three emblems were in the Emperor's possession to give validity to his coronation. Yoritomo was therefore able to proceed with the consolidation of his power, fortified by all the legal attributes that were required by the Japanese Constitution. He established his Government at Kamakura, formerly the home of his own father, which quickly grew into a great and prosperous city, the capital of the Kwanto. There he ruled the Empire in the name of the Sovereign, who remained in the old capital, and placed on a lasting basis the feudal system and the dual form of Government of the Emperor, the true Sovereign, and of the Shogun, the administrator.

Thenceforward the Government of the Shogun was known as the Bakufu. This term signifies " curtain office," the headquarters of a general in the field, which was always surrounded by a curtain. Its application to the new Government was significant as impressing on the people the fact that it was founded on militarism and that the civil régime of the Fujiwara no longer existed. The social and official pre-eminence of the military class was emphasised. The confiscated estates of the Taira were bestowed on Minamoto soldiers, and in all the provinces there were strong military governors responsible only to the Bakufu, who superseded the weak civilians of the Fujiwara epoch. Brigands had flourished not only in the country but even in Kyoto. They were exterminated, and order was everywhere established and maintained. Taxation was equitably

levied, and the nation became peaceful and prosperous, under the firm hand that made itself felt throughout the land.

In 1192 Yoritomo attained the summit of his ambition. He received from the Emperor, a boy of thirteen whom he had himself placed on the throne, his commission as *Sei-i-tai-Shogun* —Barbarian-repressing-Great General. This title was first used in the ninth century to describe the general in command of the troops on the northern frontier, waging war against the aborigines, but both then and in subsequent cases it was confined to a specific purpose, always military, and to a limited time; and when the occasion which produced it was over, the commission conferring it was withdrawn. Yoritomo gave it an altogether new significance. He assumed the appointment to be for the tenure of his own life and hereditary in his family, and also to be unlimited in the authority it conferred, whether civil or military. There was no one to gainsay him. His might was irresistible and he was virtual dictator. He never failed to observe the reverence that was due to the divine personality of the Emperor, but he reserved to himself the unrestricted exercise of the whole military and civil authority of the Empire, untrammelled by any obligation to consult or be guided by the Emperor.

Now began the dual system of Government which was destined, with only one break and that only in form, to last for over six and a half centuries (1192–1858), and which was so bewildering to Europeans, to the missionaries and traders of the sixteenth century as well as to the diplomatists of the nineteenth century. There were successive families of Shoguns. The holders of the office changed as one dynasty was overthrown and another was strong enough to put itself in the place of the first, but the office continued with all its prerogatives. There was only one limitation on the holders: they must be either members of the senior branch of the Minamoto, the family who first held it, or of the rank of Imperial Prince. Otherwise the sword provided the only claim to take or hold it. The Emperor, on his throne in the venerable capital of the Empire, always retained the divine prestige which he inherited from the gods and was the sole fountain of all honour; but he was, with a few exceptions, a mere puppet in the hands of the Mayors of the Palace who, at Kamakura or Yedo, or even in his own capital, carried on the Government in his name but with scarcely a pretence of reference to him, and with contemptuous indifference to his sanction or even his opinions. When he refused his sanction or opposed the Shogun

in any way, the precedent first established by the Fujiwara, his own relatives and courtiers, was promptly followed, and he was deposed, sometimes exiled without scruple, and any child of the direct Imperial line that was available was promptly crowned in his stead. During his reign, he was immured in the seclusion of a shabby, ill-kept palace, himself so sacred "that none of his subjects could look upon him and live"; not even the ladies of the Court dare raise their eyes in his presence; if the palace limits were ever crossed it was in a screened carriage drawn by oxen, and no eye could see within it. He was dependent on the Shogun for the daily expenses of himself and his Court, and it will be seen later how sore were the straits to which he was sometimes reduced.

On the other hand, the Shogun lived in outward splendour, in a great castle, as magnificent in its interior decorations as it was imposing and impregnable in its outward structure, surrounded by a large and devoted army, receiving homage from all the feudal nobles and exercising an undisputed sway over the whole Empire. When he went abroad, he was surrounded with all the pomp of military guards and silk-clad courtiers; the streets were cleared of everything that could offend his senses; the upper floors of houses closed so that none could look down upon him; no fires could be lighted for two days previously lest the blue sky above should be obscured, and all the people bowed their heads to the earth in lowly reverence as he passed. No wonder Europeans described him as the "August Sovereign of Japan" or as "His Imperial Highness the Emperor." His power and majesty were very apparent to them, while the other, of whom they vaguely heard and whom they termed the "Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperor," appeared to be either an Oriental myth, or if he had any real existence, one who required neither attention nor regard.

Such was the system inaugurated at the beginning of the Kamakura epoch. It was entirely subversive of the old constitutional practice when the Emperor was a real and active ruler over his people, who took command of his own armies in the field and energetically directed all the civil affairs of his Empire.

For seven years Yoritomo enjoyed his great dignity, its regal splendour and its more than regal power. Early in the year 1199 he attended the ceremony of opening a new bridge over the River Sagami where it crosses the Tokaido, the great Eastern High Road of Central Japan. As he crossed the new bridge in a stately procession before the eyes of the holiday

crowds that lined both banks of the river, the ghost of his murdered brother, Yoshitsune, rose suddenly out of the water and confronted him. He fell from his horse in a swoon and was carried home senseless, to die within a month. His frightened horse leaped from the bridge into the river which, from that day, has been always spoken of as the "Baniu-gawa," the "River Horse-Enter."

As a general, a statesman and a ruler, Yoritomo is one of the three great men of Japan, the other two being Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu, all three being entitled to rank with the great men of the world of any nation or any age. There are dark blots on his name. He was unforgiving and cruel, sparing none, not even the nearest of his own kin, who might become either his own or his successors' rivals. Even the infant child of Yoshitsune was condemned to death though its mother was spared. He was a brave soldier, but he was also a cold-blooded, calculating assassin. But these faults were those of his time, not in Japan alone. On the other hand, he was grateful to those who served him well but were not great enough to become a danger to himself or his sons; he governed wisely and firmly, and while not oppressing the commoners he preserved the precedence and dignity of the samurai, teaching them at the same time that they should show themselves worthy of their rank by never forgetting the virtues of loyalty, bravery, frugality, truth and honour, and by leading lives of active exercise which would keep their bodies always ready, even when peace seemed most secure, for whatever military duties they might be called upon to render. The great hunting-camps which he maintained on the slopes of Fujiyama, where large game was abundant, were mainly for this last-named object.

The romance which characterised the history of the Minamoto in all its stages was not wanting in the courtship or marriage of Yoritomo. When, as a lad, he was banished to Izu, he was placed under the surveillance of Hojo Tokimasa, the head of a family of Taira descent, the owner of a fief in Izu. He had two daughters, the eldest beautiful, the other the reverse. The eldest, whose name was Masa, was betrothed to the Taira Governor of Izu, but she yielded to Yoritomo's love and became his mistress in secret. Her father discovered her intrigue but still insisted on the fulfilment of the contract with the Taira Governor, and the marriage took place. Yoritomo played the part of Lochinvar. The night of the ceremony was wet and stormy, and before the newly-wedded couple retired to their chamber, Yoritomo carried off the willing bride to the moun-

tains, where they both hid themselves until the father forgave them. In the following year, a child was born and declared by its father to be his heir, and from that time Tokimasa, though a Taira and a trusted servant of their Government at Kyoto, cast in his lot with Yoritomo and became his councillor and guide through all the intrigues and plots which preceded his final victory.

When Yoritomo died, he left two sons both born of this lady. As a girl she had shown herself to be cunning and grasping, and during her husband's life she gave abundant evidence of her strength of character and of her unscrupulous and unforgiving determination. It was not long after his death ere she found new opportunity of manifesting both qualities. Yoriiye, the eldest son, succeeded his father in all his honours, but he showed himself to be idle, frivolous and dissipated, and his duties were entirely sacrificed to his pleasures. His mother, who had in her widowhood nominally entered religion and was now known as the nun Ni-i, joined with her father in assuming the control of all State affairs, and when the unfortunate Yoriiye resented this, he was deposed by his mother and ordered to shave his head and retire to a remote monastery in Izu. His grandfather, not satisfied with this punishment, heavy as it was to a man who had just attained his twenty-second year, caused him to be murdered. The second son, Sanetomo, now twelve years of age, succeeded to his brother's honours, but when he grew older he was not more efficient as a sovereign :

" He passed his time in composing verses and playing at football, and he neglected military precautions. He valued women highly and despised the fighting-man. The fiefs of those whose offices were taken from them were given to his favourite concubines. He was of an effeminate nature. He abandoned himself entirely to the composition of poetry. Any criminal could get off his punishment by offering him a stanza." (*Nihon Guaishi.*)

Many devoted followers of his father still survived who would have given their lives for the son, but some were old and infirm ; others who might have been dangerous were removed to distant posts ; others were put to death, and the young Shogun was left without a capable adviser. Yoshitoki succeeded his father in the headship of the Hojo family and also inherited in the fullest degree his father's unscrupulous ambition and iron will. He, too, was determined to raise the Hojo to the supreme power of the State, and to attain his desires he refrained neither from the murder of individuals nor from the

extermination of whole families who stood in the way of his success. During the tenure of the Shogunate by Yoritomo's two sons, Tokimasa, and after him Yoshitoki, secured, as their guardians, a new office, or rather a combination of two old offices under a new name, that of *Shikken*, or Power-holder. Combining under this title both the military and civil functions of the Government, formerly separated, the Shikken acquired the complete control of the State, assuming all the authority formerly exercised by Yoritomo as Shogun. They did not take the rank of Shogun themselves, but they arrogated the right of nominating the successors to it when vacant, and making the length of their tenure dependent entirely on the Shikken's will. Finally, the Hojo made the office of Shikken hereditary in their own family.

Two obstacles had to be removed before the Hojo ambition could be realised in its fullest measure. Yoritomo's son still held the Shogunate, and Kugio, his grandson, a son of the murdered Yoriiye, also survived. He had entered the Buddhist priesthood and at nineteen years of age was High Priest of the Temple of Hachiman at Kamakura, the great temple erected by Yoritomo, when he had just attained all his desires, to the patron god of the Minamoto. To this temple came the Shogun, at the hour of ten on the night of February 12, 1219, to return thanks for a new honour just conferred on him by the Emperor. He went to the temple in solemn procession, but left his guards at the gate and proceeded to the temple with only one attendant, wearing neither sword nor armour. As he descended the steps on his return, having finished his devotions, a man rushed from behind a large fig-tree which stood and still stands at the foot of the steps, and cut off and carried away his head, crying out as he did so, "Thus does the High Priest of this Temple avenge his father." The assassin was Kugio, who thus avenged his father's death on one who was totally innocent of any share in it, and by doing so only paved the way for those whose guilt was beyond all doubt. Kugio soon paid with his own life for what he had done; the direct male line of the Minamoto was thus at an end, and with it all the grandeur which Yoritomo hoped to have consolidated in his family for ever. Their triumph had lasted for thirty-four years, from the battle of Dan-no-Ura in 1185 to the death of Sanetomo in 1219.

A successor to the Shogunate was found in the female line of Minamoto descent. One of the ladies of the house had married a Fujiwara, and her descendant Fujiwara Yoritsune was, at the age of two years, brought to Kamakura from the

home of his family in Kyoto and solemnly, without even awaiting the Emperor's commission, inducted to the Shogunate by Masa and Yoshitoki. It was mainly the lady Masa who had contrived this. She had assented to the sacrifice of her own sons and grandson, the children of the lover of her girlhood, to promote the aggrandisement of the family from which she came. She was now so influential that she was known as the Ama Shogun—the nun Shogun.

"She listened to all matters of Government from inside the screen. Her nature was intelligent and resolute, and she was feared and obeyed by all the officers." (*Nihon Guaishi.*)

At the beginning of the Gempei war the Emperor Go Shirakawa (1156–1158) was on the throne. He did not, however, long enjoy his dignity, being deposed after a reign of two years. He was followed on the throne by four boys, whose average age at their accession was eight years, the last of whom was the ill-fated child who perished at Dan-no-Ura. When this child died, Go Shirakawa was still alive, and though he had been deposed by Kiyomori in 1158, he had continued, during the infancy of his four successors, to discharge as "Ho-O," the cloistered Emperor, the functions which could only be legalised by the Imperial name and authority. When the Taira fled from Kyoto, taking the child-Emperor Antoku (1180–1185) with them, Go Shirakawa, yielding to the dictation of Yoritomo, declared the throne vacant and selected a new occupant for it. His choice, guided by divination, fell upon Go Toba (1186–1199), a younger brother of Antoku, who accordingly became the eighty-second Emperor.

It was in the year 1183 that he was chosen, but his reign only dates from 1186, when he was formally vested with the regalia after they had been recovered from the sea at Dan-no-Ura. Go Shirakawa died in 1192. Go Toba abdicated in 1199 in favour of his eldest son, then five years old, Tsuchi Mikado (1199–1211). In 1211 the latter was forced to retire in favour of his youngest brother, Juntoku (1211–1222), and eleven years later Juntoku in turn was forced to retire in favour of his own son, Chukiyo (1222), then five years old. In this year the triumph of the Hojo, as will be told below, became complete, and Tokiyori promptly signalised it by replacing one child, after a reign of only three months, by another, Go Horikawa (1222–1232), a son of a younger son of the Emperor Takakura. Owing to these repeated changes there were in the first quarter

of the thirteenth century no less than five Emperors or ex-Emperors all living at the same time. Such were the peculiarities of the Imperial succession in Japan in the Middle Ages.

Go Toba came to the throne at the age of seven and abdicated at the age of twenty. He grew up a man of character and strong will, and after his abdication and entry into religion he continued to direct from his cloistered seclusion the affairs of the Court with as much vigour as he could have done if still upon the throne. He was eager to see the prerogatives of the throne restored in their fullest extent, even though not in his own person, and with that object declared war on the powerful military usurpers at Kamakura. The climax came when by an Imperial decree Yoshitoki was declared a rebel and deprived of all his offices. He was away in the far north, but the nun Shogun boldly came to the front at Kamakura. She called around her all the generals and officers, and when they were assembled " at the foot of her screen," she delivered to them a vigorous address in which she called upon them to choose between the Court and the Government at Kamakura which Yoritomo had built up with such pains. In this incident Japanese historians compare her to Maria Theresa in her address to the Hungarian nobles, but her whole life merits comparison with Queen Elizabeth, or the Empress Dowager of China, or with any other great woman who has ever sat on an Imperial or Royal throne.

" All the generals were moved to admiration and prayed that they might be allowed to do their utmost," though in taking her side against the throne they at once became " Choteki," rebels, traitors and outlaws. They were not like Kiyomori or Yoritomo, who fought not against the Emperor but against criminals who had the Emperor in their power. It was against the Emperor himself, who had been the first to throw down the gauntlet, that they were now to advance with all their strength. But not one of them ventured to disagree, and an army of 190,000 men was soon on the march to Kyoto, under the command of Yasutoki, Yoshitoki's son and the nun's nephew. " All those who followed to the war were fathers who had left their sons at home or sons who had left their fathers," so that there were ample hostages for their good faith.

The Kwangun, the loyal army of the Emperor, far inferior in numbers, was driven before the Kamakura forces, " which advanced westwards with drums beating so that the capital trembled with fear." On the bank of the River Uji, the scene of great fights when Yoshitsune was winning his way to the capital

as the Hojo were now doing, 10,000 warrior priests from the Nara monasteries were encamped.

" A persistent rain had been falling, and the river was flooded. Yasutoki desired to wait for the morning and then advance ; but during the night one of his generals got ahead and opened a fight with arrows across the river, so Yasutoki followed. The planks of the bridges had been stripped off, so the eastern troops advanced along the beams ; and as the arrows and stones of the loyal army fell like rain many of them were killed. One tried the depth of the river with his horse, but the horse was wounded and the rider fell into the water. He was saved by his followers and brought back to a fire on the bank where Yasutoki himself warmed him so that he revived. Every officer was emulous to cross first, and eight hundred were drowned. At last Nobutsuna on horseback, his son, fifteen years old, swimming behind and holding on to the horse's tail, reached the little island in mid-stream, and five hundred horsemen followed. The roofs of the neighbouring houses were stripped and rafts made on which the rest of the army was ferried across and the loyal army was beaten back." (*Nihon Guaishi.*)

There was more fighting before the end came, but it was short, sharp and decisive, and soon the streets of the capital were crowded with the eastern troops " who went forth everywhere to capture and to slay." The orders were carried out. Some of the Court nobles were spared for the moment, but it was only because Yasutoki did not venture to kill them at the capital in the shadow of the throne. They were sent to Kamakura in charge of guards who were instructed to kill them on the way. Even the infant child of one was not spared.

To the Imperial family no mercy was shown. Go Toba himself deserved little. He had begun the war, and when he was beaten had tried to purchase mercy for himself by giving up to the victors the names of those who had fought for him. His sons were not equally guilty. One of them, Tsuchi Mikado, had not joined the Court conspiracy and had even remonstrated against it. But all were punished in the same degree. Go Taigo was exiled to the island of Oki, and Juntoku to Sado, both desolate islands on the western coast. Tsuchi Mikado was sent to Awa, and two Imperial princes to Tajima and Bizen. The child-Emperor Kujo was deposed but

" He lived a virtual prisoner in Kyoto for thirteen years afterwards. The Bakufu declined to give him the title of Emperor, and it was not till 1870, after the Restoration, that he was at last enrolled among the list of sovereigns." (Brinkley.)

Never before had the Emperors been treated in this way. The remainders of their lives were passed not only in exile but

in poverty that approached destitution. Go Toba had a labourer's cottage that did not even protect him from the rain.

Masa died in 1225, having lived to see the family, for which she had done so much, firmly established as the real rulers of the Empire, their authority acknowledged in Kyoto no less than in their own capital at Kamakura. Her father Tokimasa had died in 1215, and her brother Yoshitoki, the second of the Shikken, in 1224. Yasutoki (1224–1242), the third of the line, was now head of the house and of the executive Government. Fidelity to the house was assured by the distribution of over three thousand confiscated fiefs among its adherents who had fought for it, and it was further buttressed by the wise exercise of their power by Yasutoki and his two successors—Tsunetoki (1242–1246) and Tokiyori (1246–1256). All three proved themselves able, upright, industrious and unselfish rulers. They gave the Empire peace, prosperity and content. Their own lives were ordered with strict economy, and what they practised in their own lives so did they also in the State, and the fullest protection was afforded to the peasantry against oppression by their feudal lords. Taxation of the farmers was largely reduced, and on occasions of failure of the crops entirely remitted. Justice was efficiently administered. The first half of every month was exclusively devoted to it, and the custom, established five centuries previously by the Emperor Kotoku, of hanging a bell at the gate of the palace, was revived in order that suitors whose causes were being delayed might, by striking it, procure immediate attention.

The experience gained in this way suggested to Yasutoki the necessity of a code of laws to fit the changed conditions of the time since the eighth century, when the Taiho code was promulgated. That code was drawn up for an Empire in which there was only one central authority, the throne, which conserved in itself not only the whole administration but the ownership of all land throughout the Empire. That condition had passed away. There were now two Governments, one nominal but constitutional; another very real but exercising an authority that was based only on the sword, while the ownership of the land was passing to feudatories who were yearly acquiring greater powers of self-government within their own domains. The code which is known as the Joei Shikimoku—Code of Joei—Joei being the *nengo* of the period (1232–1233) in which it was published—consists of fifty-one articles dealing with the tenure of land, the duties and privileges of the owners, and their relations with the local authorities who represented the

Government in their districts, the punishment of offences, and the support of religion by the maintenance both of Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples. The code was intended for and applied only to the military class. Their rights, obligations and offences alone were dealt with. The three lower classes were left entirely to the mercy of their feudal lords or of the local officials. On the other hand, it is evident from at least five chapters in the code that women held a far higher position in the social life of the nation under the Kamakura than they did, three centuries later, under the Tokugawa régime. " Female tenures " are fully provided for. A wife could hold a fief independently of her husband ; one could be bequeathed to widow, daughter or even concubine, with slight reservation in favour of a deserving son, and a childless female holder could adopt an heir. When the code was completed all the members of the *Hyojoshu*, the inner council of the Bakufu, which supervised, under the Shikken, the political administration of the Empire, took a solemn oath

" by the four great Kings of Heaven, by all the Gods, great and little, celestial and terrestrial, of the sixty odd provinces of Japan, faithfully to follow the code as one man and to administer it in union and with collective responsibility, without fear or favour, and if they failed invoked not only upon themselves but on all their tribe, connections and belongings, the punishments of the Gods and of the Buddhas." (Hall.)

Tokiyori, the fifth of the line, grandson of his predecessor, carried in his own life the family's virtues of frugality even to excess, but not from any spirit of miserliness, for he freely gave help on a large scale from his own resources to those who needed it in times of distress, and he did not rely only on official sources for information as to the condition of the people. He was another Harun al Rashid in a wider field. The Arab monarch's wanderings were in the streets of his capital ; Tokiyori's were extended to the provinces, through which he travelled on foot as a mendicant priest, making himself acquainted with the intimate life of the lowest classes of the people, living in their cottages, partaking of their food wherever he went, and sternly remedying the personal wrongs which he discovered among them.

Tokimune (1270–1284), the seventh Shikken, fell little short of his predecessors in administrative genius, honesty or courage. He was of a firm and resolute disposition, skilled from his boyhood in archery and horsemanship. It was during his regency that Kublai Khan, the great Mongol Emperor of China, whose

armies had overrun all Central Asia and borne his standards in triumph even as far as the walls of Moscow, resolved to bring Japan within the circle of the tribute nations whose homage was due to him, and to put a stop once and for all to the piracy from which the coasts of China and Korea suffered so bitterly at the hands of the Japanese sea rovers.

He first tried negotiation and, displaying a degree of patience that did not appear anywhere in his intercourse with the people of Continental Asia, he sent no less than six embassies to Japan. All his letters were contemptuously rejected and not even favoured with the ordinary courtesy of replies. In 1274 a small expedition of about 10,000 of his troops made attacks on the islands of Tsushima and Oki, but they were repulsed, with heavy loss, from both islands, and the Mongol commanders learned what were the fighting qualities of the islanders who so daringly defied their great master.

In 1275 the expedient of a mission was once more tried, and nine persons landed at Nagato and firmly refused to leave without an answer. The result was one of the most disastrous in the history of diplomacy. Tokimune had the properly-accredited ambassador of a great Sovereign and his staff all brought to Kamakura and beheaded on the common execution-ground. In 1279, more envoys came, but only to meet with the fate of their predecessors. Kublai Khan's long-tried tolerance was now exhausted, and his wrath was stirred to its depths. Never before had he been so flouted, and it was intolerable that the conqueror of all Asia should continue to brook the insolence of what he considered to be a petty nation of pirates. An Invincible Armada of over three hundred great ships was therefore prepared, the Koreans being brought in both to supply ships and to man them. As sailors they were far superior to the Chinese, while the Mongols were not sailors at all. Few of them indeed had ever even seen the sea. An army of 100,000 men was embarked in the fleet and all sailed for the coast of Kyushu. The whole expedition was in its inception, in the expectation held of it by its great organiser, in the methods in which it was fought, and in its fate, almost an exact parallel of the Spanish Armada three centuries later.

The Japanese knew of its coming and, well prepared for it, " awaited its attack, ready to die if necessary." Tokimune possessed all the spirit, vigour and determination of his family at their best, and never faltered. Troops were concentrated and walls and entrenchments constructed on the coast of Kyushu. " The plan was to hold the shore and draw the enemy

on, to go and attack them in swift cutters and for the troops lightly armed to fall on them at close quarters." The Emperor Go Uda (1274–1288), the ninety-first of the line, who had ascended the throne in the eighth year of his age, was deposed at the age of twenty-one and lived in retirement for thirty-seven years afterwards, proceeded to the holy shrine of Ise to offer his prayers on behalf of the nation to his great ancestress, the Sun-Goddess, and similar prayers were offered from all the shrines and monasteries throughout the land. So the aid of the Buddhist gods was invoked no less earnestly than was that of the national deities.

The prayers were not in vain. The Sun-Goddess did not forsake her people. It was the month of August, the dreaded typhoon season of the Far Eastern Seas. The great Chinese fleet reached the coast of Kyushu, much harried on the way by the lighter ships of the Japanese which hung about its flanks as it crossed the sea, and anchored close to the shore, the ships fastened together by chains in a long line. All attempts at landing were repulsed with heavy loss to the invaders, but still the great fleet was intact and still its catapults discharged volleys of huge stones upon the land defences. Then the "Divine Wind of Ise" came in answer to the Imperial prayers and, just as the storm broke upon the Spaniards in the North Sea, so did the typhoon break upon the Mongols at Kyushu. The ships, anchored in close order and bound with their chains, were helpless and were hurled together and broken and utterly destroyed, and any of the crews that reached the shore were cut down as they landed. "The dead bodies covered the sea so that one could walk upon it. Of the 100,000 barbarian troops those who escaped were no more than three. The Mongols did not repeat their attempts against Japan." Rai Sanyo, the great Japanese historian, from whom the previous quotations have been taken, says:

"From this I learn that the secret of victory or defeat lies in the spirit of the men and not in their weapons. We have a quality in which we naturally excel, and in that we should put our trust." (*Nihon Guaishi.*)

These words were written in the first quarter of the eighteenth century when Japan was isolated from the world and enjoying both foreign and domestic peace which then seemed never likely to be broken, but they are frequently quoted at the present day and are engraved in the hearts of every Japanese soldier and seaman.

Tokimune died in 1284 and was succeeded by his son Sada-

toki (1284–1300), a boy fourteen years of age, and with his accession the downward progress began of the Kamakura Bakufu. It was accentuated under his two successors, the last of whom, Takatoki (1315–1333), was destined to be also the last of his dynasty. The blight that never fails in Japan had fallen upon it. The unworthy descendants of great men who had founded and maintained it by just, efficient and economic government, ensured by their own unremitting industry and ability, abandoned themselves to indolence and self-indulgence, leaving the performance of their duties to subordinates. A strange system of government was the result in the closing years of the Hojo. The Japanese Government in the Heian and previous periods was a monarchy with one capital and one executive. Yoritomo made it a duarchy, with a new capital and a new executive at Kamakura, presided over by the Shogun,[1] who was the acknowledged vassal of the Emperor. The Hojo converted the duarchy into a triarchy, themselves governing as Shikken ("Power-Holders") in the names of puppet Shoguns, whose legal authority was in turn derived from the Emperors. And finally, in the last years of their dynasty, the Hojo delegated all their active authority to *Kwanriyo*, the family stewards of their house, who became the virtual rulers of the Empire; so that the Government was now a quadrarchy, administered by the junior of four degrees of rulers, each in turn the vassal of the one above him, the Kwanriyo of the Shikken, the Shikken of the Shogun, and the Shogun of the Emperor. In no other country of the world has there ever been a political edifice so strange.

Through all the years of the Hojo administration, whether direct or by deputy, nothing is heard of either Emperors or Shoguns. All were puppets, raised to their dignities and deposed from them by the arbitrary will of the Shikken, limited only by their restriction, in the choice of the first, to the Imperial line and, of the second, to the Imperial or Minamoto families. There were six of these puppet Shoguns while the Hojo were in power, two of whom were of the Minamoto and the other four of the Imperial family. Their average age on their accession was six and a half years, and on their deposition twenty-five years. The policy of the Fujiwara towards the Emperors, in the Nara and Heian epochs, of calling children to the throne and removing them when they attained full manhood, was imitated by the Hojo in regard to the Shoguns.

[1] Term converted into Taikun (Tycoon)—Great Lord—in the middle of the nineteenth century.

In contradistinction to their own mode of living, they maintained the Shoguns in great luxury at Kamakura. The Hojo themselves, until the last of the line, observed a rigid frugality in their own lives, but they provided the Shoguns with a large staff of courtiers and officials whose sole duties were to minister to their pleasures, guard their persons and take care of their palace. Every frivolity was encouraged, and while the direct entourage of the Hojo were absorbed in unremitting devotion to the heavy tasks of administration, no more serious occupations could be found for that of the Shoguns than music, dancing, poetry, games of ball (the latter of a decidedly effeminate character), archery and horsemanship. So contemptuously were they regarded that when one of them, the nephew of an Emperor, offended his Spartan vassal, he was promptly sent back to his relatives at Kyoto in a palanquin, some say heels upwards, though the more authoritative story is that the front and back of the palanquin were reversed throughout his journey, a humiliation not unlike that inflicted on certain political celebrities in England in the olden days, when forced to ride with the face turned to the horse's tail. The case of the Emperors was little better. Eleven were on the throne during this epoch. Their average age at their accession was under, and the average length of their reigns just over, fourteen years. None of them made any mark in history till the last Go Daigo (1318–1339), the ninety-sixth Sovereign of the line.

Takatoki, the last of the Hojo, succeeded to the Shikken while still a boy, and he grew up dull of intellect, indolent and dissipated, spending his time in the society of dancing and music girls, in drinking and feasting both day and night, regardless of what was going on outside his palace walls and leaving everything to the Kwanriyo, who were sunk in corruption and unblushingly sold justice, sometimes taking bribes from both parties to one cause. It had always been the custom of the Hojo to send secret inspectors into the provinces to inquire as to cases of maladministration of justice and of hardship to the people, but now the inspectors themselves became corrupt. All the factors that contributed to the stability of the Hojo were gone. Frugality, both in the Government and in social life, was replaced by wild and ostentatious extravagance. Debt accumulated, and the "benevolent policy" (*tokusei*) by which all debts were cancelled had to be brought into play in order to placate the struggling samurai, who began to yearn for war, by which they might hope to acquire new means for

the indulgence of their pleasures. Meanwhile Takatoki's licence increased. He kept thirty concubines. He introduced among the nobles the custom of flinging their robes to actors who won their plaudits, the robes being ransomed at a heavy cost the following day.

"One day he saw some dogs fighting in the courtyard and took such delight in it that he ordered the officials and people to present him with fierce dogs. He received several thousand, which he distributed among the generals to be fed and cared for. Whenever a palanquin or other vehicle passed these fierce dogs in the street, if the occupier did not get out he was punished with death. The crowd of dogs fought and barked and bit like men fighting for a dead body. Takatoki was also fond of rustic music, and his musical artists numbered several thousands. He spent much on presents of money to them which was calculated at tens of thousands on each occasion." (*Nihon Guaishi.*)

In 1318, the Emperor Go Daigo (1318–1339) came to the throne, the ninety-sixth of the line. He was already thirty-one years of age, mentally and physically in the full vigour of manhood.

"He saw that Takatoki misgoverned, and he rejoiced at it. He was indignant that the Hojo, being vassals of vassals, should generation after generation dispose of the throne, deposing and setting up Emperors at their own will. He secretly planned to destroy them." (*Nihon Guaishi.*)

His plans were soon betrayed. However numerous and glaring were Takatoki's vices, want of decision was not among them. Troops were promptly sent to Kyoto, and the weak forces of the Court were easily defeated. The Emperor fled, so hurriedly that he had neither food nor bed for three days, but he was followed and taken and exiled to the island of Oki, where a century before, his predecessor, Go Toba, had died in misery and want. On this occasion the exile was not till death. The Emperor escaped in an open boat, lying at the bottom, covered up with seaweed and trampled upon by the sailors, and new armies gathered to the Imperial standard which was once more raised. They were led by two capable commanders, Kusunoki Masashige and Nitta Yoshisada, both of whom won by their loyalty and courage imperishable renown among all the greatest soldiers of Japan, and they were afterwards joined by a third, Ashikaga Takauji, who, at first holding an important command in the Hojo army, deserted when he saw their cause was a falling one, and went over to their enemies.

The campaign was not a long one. Many followed the Ashikaga example, and desertion rapidly thinned the Hojo army. Still they mustered 100,000 men for the last defence

of Kamakura against the conquering army led by Nitta Yoshisada. On land the attack failed, but a way lay by the sea, along the beach between Yenoshima and Kamakura, that is now so frequently trodden by Western tourists, and round the base of a steep cliff that midway juts out upon the beach. It was blocked by *chevaux de frise* that extended to the water's edge, and a fleet of boats lay off the shore, manned by archers ready to shoot down whoever tried to pass. Yoshisada prayed to the Sea-God for a passage for his men, and from the summit of the cliff cast his sword into the waves as a votive offering. Next morning, the sea had fallen so rapidly that the ebb carried with it the fleet of boats, and the attacking army was able to march along the dry sand. A fierce fight ensued. The Hojo defended themselves to the last, disputing every step of the way through the streets of their capital, but the city was taken, committed to the flames and destroyed. No mercy was shown. Men, women and children all alike were pitilessly slaughtered, and the Hojo and their adherents exterminated as ruthlessly as were the Taira, with their help, 148 years previously.

It was on July 5, 1333, that the city of Kamakura fell. When all was over, Takatoki, who was as brave at his fall as he had been licentious in his glory, who had fought in the van through the whole day, retreated with a thousand followers to the temple of Toshoji, the burial-place of his family. And there, as the *Nihon Guaishi* relates with much poetic and much gruesome detail, he fought his last fight, and, seeing all was lost, died by his own hand.

For many centuries history was ruthless in its condemnation of the Hojo dynasty. The verdict of Rai Sanyo, the greatest of all historians, is unsparing in its denunciation, and his verdict was that of the nation until quite recently.

It was qualified by only one saving clause in the *Nihon Guaishi*, and even this clause is very two-sided in its terms.

"When we come to discuss the care bestowed by them on the interests of the people we find it was such as has been seldom seen in the military families which preceded or followed them. It was by this means that they endeavoured to atone for their wickedness and treason to the Emperor which were such as neither men nor gods could pardon. Of the seven generations of the family the only one who can be said to have resembled a human being in his conduct is Yasutoki: all the rest were serpents and fiends."

Not even the glory of "the repulse of the Tartar barbarians nor the preservation of the dominions of the Son of Heaven by the genius and energy of Tokimune were sufficient to atone for

the crimes of his ancestors." Their treason to the Emperors could never be washed out, and for centuries their memories were darkened by undying odium. Modern thought has, however, done them more justice. Their great and manifold virtues both as statesmen and individuals are no longer permitted to be entirely obscured by their recorded political vices, and it is acknowledged that the majority of the line displayed, as individuals, mercy, benevolence and self-denial, and, as statesmen, efficiency, justice and firmness.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MUROMACHI EPOCH

THREE soldiers, all territorial nobles of ancient lineage, shared in the movement which culminated in the overthrow of the Hojo. All fought with one ostensible object, to effect the return to the ancient régime when the Emperors were sovereigns in reality as well as in name and to do away with the system of dual government which was a violation of the Constitution bestowed on Japan by the Gods of Heaven when they first entrusted one of their own number with the rulership of the world. It was entirely the same as that which influenced the promoters of the Restoration of 1868. For five centuries the Emperors had been nullities as regards the exercise of active control over the affairs of the nation, and their upbringing and environment during their adult lives had reduced them to *fainéants*, sunk in the sloth and sensuality of a degenerate Court, and totally unfitted to take their proper share in the administration of their Empire, even if the opportunity was afforded to them. The Emperor Go Daigo, who was now on the throne, was of a totally different class. He was a man of strong character, industrious and brave, who had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune, who had tasted the bitterness of exile, had experienced hunger and exposure, and who was both fully conscious of his prerogatives and ambitious to exercise them free from all restraint. He was once more firmly established on his throne, with none, neither nobles of his own Court, Shogun nor Regent, to come between him and his people. The future was full of promise, but it was all too soon darkened by the selfish treachery of one man.

It was in July 1333 that Go Daigo once more found himself in Kyoto, where the three great soldiers were all gathered about his throne. The whole system of Government was reorganised on its ancient basis, without either Shogun or Kwampaku, and those who had contributed to the Restoration were rewarded

with old offices that were now resuscitated, or with the gift of confiscated lands. During his exile the Emperor had promised in vigorous rescripts that all who fought for him or who helped him in any way would be duly rewarded " when the fate of the Eastern Outlaws (the Hojo) was sealed," and his promises were now to be fulfilled. In exile he was firm and strong, but, after its sufferings and privations, he yielded to the temptations afforded by the ease and luxury of the Court, and his industry and judgment failed him when he should have used both in all their vigour.

The sequel to Go Daigo's restoration finds some parallel in that of the Stuarts in England. Charles II, after years of exile and poverty, borne with bravery and hope, yielded himself on his restoration to all the worst indulgences of sloth and dissipation, and in the distribution of his rewards neglected the devoted adherents of his house who had done and suffered most for it, while others, champions no doubt of his restoration but in preceding years equally champions of his defeat and downfall, were covered with honours. So it was with Go Daigo three centuries before him. The Lady Ren, another lady in Japanese history who showed a determined and ambitious character, had bravely shared his exile and now stood beside him in his prosperity. She exercised a strong influence over him, and being herself of Fujiwara lineage, she naturally used her influence to promote the interests of Court favourites instead of those of the soldiers to whose swords the Emperor owed all that he had. Of all who had fought for him, Kusunoki Masashige and Nitta Yoshisada were by far the most prominent. Both were nobles of the very bluest blood in all Japan. Yoshisada sprang from the Minamoto line and could therefore boast of Imperial descent. Masashige came from the Tachibana, the second of the great families of the Court nobles, next in order of precedence to the Fujiwara, the same family which, in olden times, gave to Yamato Dake as his wife the Princess Oto, who sacrificed her life to save his when they were storm-tossed in the straits of Sagami. To this day, Masashige is acclaimed as the national type of the loyalty and courage of a true samurai, and in the hero-worship of Japan takes rank not inferior to that of Yamato Dake, Shotoku Daishi or Yoshitsune. Both he and Yoshisada were as unselfish and upright as they were brave and loyal.

Ashikaga Takauji, however, the third of the three generals of the Restoration, was in all respects, save those of high descent and ability, a contrast to the other two. He too was a scion of the noble Minamoto. But he was ambitious and unscrupulous,

self-seeking and dissimulating. Masashige and Yoshisada cast in their lot with the Emperor's fortunes from the first and were unswervingly faithful to them while they were at their lowest ebb. Takauji was, at first, opposed to the Emperor's cause and lent his arms to his enemies. He fought against Masashige on behalf of the Hojo : he won the confidence of the last of the line and took the most solemn oath of fealty to him. He received signal honours. With all this, he did not hesitate to betray the cause he had sworn to defend and to join in its destruction. He now won the favour both of the Emperor and of the Lady Ren. He was taken into their closest confidence, and rewards, both of honour and lands, were heaped upon him far above those conferred on Masashige and Yoshisada. Humbler soldiers experienced the same ingratitude, and the rewards to which their services entitled them were scattered among worthless favourites of the Court.

Once a traitor always a traitor. The Emperor refused to hearken to warnings not to trust Takauji, and he paid the penalty for his blindness. Discord was sown in the Court. Prince Morinaga, the Emperor's own son, heir-apparent to the throne, who had done so much for the Restoration and in whom Takauji recognised a formidable obstacle to the attainment of the Shogunate, an ambition which he had now conceived, was accused of treachery, and the Lady Ren, won by the flattery and bribes of Takauji and by his promise to procure the nomination of her own son as Crown Prince and heir to the throne, gave a ready ear to the accusation and persuaded the Emperor of its truth. In vain Morinaga, loyal as ever, protested his innocence. He was banished from the Court to Kamakura, which was now being rebuilt, and there consigned as a prisoner to the tender mercies of Takauji's brother. For seven months he was immured in a cavern specially dug for the purpose, and then at last murdered.

As Takauji had done in the Court so also did he with the disbanded samurai. He encouraged their discontent and, emphasising the ingratitude of the Emperor for their past services, held out hopes to them of what they might expect from himself in a better future under a revived Shogunate. Finally he laid before the throne charges of disloyalty against even Nitta Yoshisada and demanded the Imperial commission for his destruction. Yoshisada had no difficulty not only in disproving the charges against himself but in proving up to the very hilt serious counter-charges which he formulated against Takauji. The Emperor at last roused himself and saw what had long been plain to many. The

Imperial commission was issued, but it was for the destruction not of Yoshisada but of Takauji.

It was too late. The Emperor had made Takauji owner of the eastern provinces which had long been the cradle of all the best fighting-men of Japan. He had wealth and the command of a large army of his own vassals, and recruits came to him in numbers from the samurai of other provinces, whom he had won to his cause by his promises. Treason repeats itself, but true loyalty never falters, and both Yoshisada and Masashige, forgetting all their wrongs, once more came to the Emperor's side and again took up arms on his behalf to liberate him from the threatened tyranny of the Ashikaga line as they had previously done from the actual tyranny of the Hojo.

A campaign ensued which was fought with varying fortunes. The Ashikaga had not to depend only on their eastern forces; they received large accessions of strength from the south and west, and though they did not escape defeat, they were in the end in control of an army which was of overwhelming strength as compared with that under the Imperial standards. The last stand of the loyal army was made on the Minatogawa, the Harbour River, where Yoshitsune gained his first triumph over the Taira one hundred and fifty-two years before. There the two loyal generals met and on the eve of the battle shared a farewell banquet and then proceeded to their separate commands.

The result was never in doubt. Overwhelming numbers were supported by skilful tactics. Takauji got between the two divisions of the Imperial army and destroyed each in turn. Yoshisada escaped from the field by the aid of one of his own officers who had given him his horse and had then died fighting. Six thousand of the twenty-five thousand men that he had in his command at the beginning of the battle also escaped and accompanied him, and for two years he carried on a desultory war in the west, everywhere beset with foes but always keeping his standard flying. Then one day, while with an escort of only fifty men, he was surprised by a force of over three thousand. A desperate attempt was made to cut through the surrounding lines, but Yoshisada himself was struck in the eye by an arrow and fell from his horse mortally wounded. His guard were all killed or scattered. He was alone, and rather than fall into the hands of his enemy he cut off his head with his own sword, a feat which appears somewhat strange to us, but which, it is said, the samurai of the old days was expected to be able to perform. A more prosaic story is that the service was performed for him at the last moment by one of his own men. The head was found

and carried to Kyoto and there pilloried on the prison gates as that of a common criminal who had died at the hands of the public executioner.

When the two divisions of the loyal army were separated Masashige was cut off from the main body with only 700 men and was simultaneously attacked, both in front and in the rear, by a division of Takauji's army, numbering over 6,000, which had made a successful flank movement. Masashige's little band fought desperately to the last, until only 72 survivors were left, every one of whom, like their leader, was covered with wounds. Then they all withdrew to a farm-house in the neighbourhood and there all performed the last sacrifice of the true samurai.

Takauji at the head of an irresistible and victorious army was now master of the situation. He marched at once to Kyoto, and before his advance the hapless Emperor once more fled, first to the monastery of Hiyei Zan, where the warrior-priests in vain attempted to protect him, and finally, disguised as a woman and making his escape at the last moment through a broken fence, to the hills of Yoshino, not forgetting to take with him the Imperial Regalia. In Yoshino he found a new home in the very temple that two hundred years before was occupied by Yoshitsune and his faithful henchman Benkei, and the room in the temple remains to this day as he used it, six centuries ago, while his grave is shown but a little way from it. The sacred regalia being in his possession, he was still the only legitimate Emperor, and his humble room in the temple at Yoshino was the seat of the *de jure* Government of the land.

Neither custom nor law had any restraint on Takauji, who was already steeped in treachery to his very lips, and who had betrayed in turn everyone whom he had proposed to serve. None could now hope to contend against his might, the shadow of which darkened all the land, but he had not yet obtained the title of Sei-i-tai-Shogun, which he coveted with all the strength of his unscrupulous and ambitious heart, and that title could be conferred only by the Sovereign. Go Daigo, even while showering rewards on him, had refused it, and there was no hope, now that the Emperor was the victim of still further betrayal, that he would ever be persuaded to grant it. The Gordian knot was, however, speedily cut. Takauji publicly declared that Go Daigo had forfeited the throne by his flight; he nominated to it in his stead Prince Kogen, a son of the Emperor Go Fushimi (1298–1301), and from him he easily obtained the desired title.

Takauji had now reached the highest dignity which a subject could attain, but it was hedged with glaring illegality. Only the Sovereign could confer it. The true Sovereign was in exile at Yoshino, and Kogen, on the throne in the capital, was an impostor whose gifts of honours, high or low, were as invalid as his own title to reign—for he had not the regalia in his charge. This was, however, no obstacle to Takauji. As 300 years later the symbol of the authority of the constitutional legislature was a bauble in the eyes of another coming despot in the Island Kingdom of the West, so to Takauji were the sacred regalia, the gifts of Heaven, baubles to be viewed with contemptuous indifference. The Imperial Impostor kept the throne, and the victorious adventurer, strong and wealthy, gloried in all the revived splendour of Yoritomo's dignity. The Ashikaga Shogunate was founded on treachery and illegality. It has to this day never lost the odium it acquired at its beginning, and one reason for it that has never been forgotten is its founder's violation of the most sacred traditions that surrounded the holy symbols.

The curious constitutional situation that was created by the fact of there being two Emperors professing to reign at the same time lasted for sixty years, from 1332 to 1392. Through all this period there were two rival reigning dynasties. One, which was known as the Southern Court, established at Yoshino, was sunk in poverty and impotence, but it was fortified by constitutional legality, and many attempts were made by loyal adherents throughout the country to win for it by arms the authority which was its unquestionable right. The War of the Dynasties, as it was called, never really ceased during the sixty years. The other, the Northern Court, was founded in illegality, and its Emperors were usurpers ; but they held the capital under the safe protection of the military despot to whom they owed their throne, and lived in the Imperial palace with all the outer manifestations of dignity. During the sixty years there were in all five sovereigns of the Southern Dynasty, including Go Daigo, who, after all the vicissitudes of his chequered life of palace and prison, of the proud exercise of Imperial autocracy and the helplessness of a hunted fugitive, died in poverty and exile in 1339. Of the Northern Dynasty there were six sovereigns, but only the name of the last is now retained in the official list of the Sovereigns of Japan. The others are known as the " False Emperors."

In 1392 a reconciliation was at last effected between the two Imperial Houses. The fortunes of the Southern Dynasty, the

legitimate line, had then fallen so low that its restoration was hopeless and all its fighting spirit gone. The usurping and illegitimate line carried the day. The Imperial Regalia were surrendered to Go Komatsu (1392–1412), the representative of the Northern Dynasty then on the mock throne at Kyoto, who by this act became the 100th Emperor in the direct line. He had succeeded to his mock dignity in 1382 when only six years old, and was therefore sixteen when he became the true Sovereign. His predecessor, the last of the Yoshino Emperors, Go Kamiyama (1368–1393), who had made way for him, was adopted as his father, and the Yoshino district was assigned to him as a domain.

The traditions of the Shogunate required that its seat should be at Kamakura, the great city founded by Yoritomo, in which he lived and ruled. Kamakura was now rising from the ashes of the ruin brought on it at the fall of the Hojo, but Takauji's pride scorned it and he built a new palace at Muromachi, a district of Kyoto, from which a new epoch of history, which now began, takes its name. Here he lived for twenty years, the near neighbour of his master who, in his Imperial but far less splendid palace, was completely overshadowed as he was overridden in the exercise of all his prerogatives by the new tyrant and his successors. Takauji died in 1358, but so well had he established his prestige and consolidated his supports that his family continued to hold the dignity he transmitted to them for 238 years. They even extended its rights. It had hitherto always been filled, when vacancies occurred by death or otherwise, by nominees theoretically chosen by the Emperor. The choice as exercised by him was rarely more than a mere formality, but even if only a pretence it preserved the figment of obedience to the law of the land, which made the Emperor the sole source of all honour. The Ashikaga totally abandoned the figment, made the dignity hereditary in their own family, and succeeded each other without any affectation of caring for or asking the Emperor's approval.

There were in all, including the founder, fourteen Ashikaga Shoguns. The entire line is now regarded with odium, and scarcely a single member of it fails to share in its general ignominy. Extravagance and indifference to the sufferings of the people from the horrors of civil war and the burdens of over-taxation were characteristics of all, and the fact that their extravagance was often expended on the cultivation of art in its many aspects brought no alleviation to those who had to bear the cost. Yoshimitsu (1368–1393), the third of

the line, with a councillor by his side who was a wise guardian in the youth and an equally wise minister in the manhood of his master, governed with wisdom and consideration. But when the councillor died, the family extravagance and love of ostentation exerted themselves. He made his palace so splendid, both in its decoration and in the beauties of the park around it, that it was called the Palace of Flowers, and money was lavished on costly entertainments of every kind. It is not by his extravagance, however ostentatious it was, that his repute is most tarnished in history. He humiliated himself and his country by rendering tribute to China as a vassal and by permitting himself to be described as "a vassal King" in official communications. The title of King, qualified as it was, was an irresistible appeal to his vanity. Coinage has always in the East been considered as one of the attributes of a perfectly free and independent country, or contrariwise as an emblem of vassalage. Under Yoshimitsu, minting ceased in Japan. Rice and cotton cloth became mediums of exchange, but they were supplemented by a large importation of copper coins from China which became currency through all Japan, another mark of national humiliation.

The sixth Shogun, Yoshinori (1428–1441), whose early manhood was spent as a Buddhist priest, was a vigorous and capable ruler with high ideals, but he was murdered, much as Duncan was murdered, by a treacherous host. His successor, his son, was only eight years old at his accession, and died when ten. He was followed by his brother and then came another long tenure. Yoshimasa, the eighth Shogun of the line, was only in his eighth year when he inherited the office, and the whole administration, which had been placed on a secure basis by his capable father, fell to pieces. Famine and pestilence added to the miseries of the people, and civil war was universal in the provinces. Nothing, however, interfered with Yoshimasa's abandonment to his own selfish pleasures, and the fact that he was an eclectic connoisseur in art was not much consolation to those who had to pay for the gratification of his tastes. It is to him that the ceremonies are due of the "*Cha no Yu*," the æsthetic tea parties which are observed to this day with reverential formality in the Court and in the noblest households in Japan as the most esoteric manifestations of refined culture, and it was he who built the lovely monastery in Kyoto as a retreat in which he could practise the ceremonies in his old age, the Ginkakuji, the silver pavilion, in rivalry to the Kinkakuji, the golden pavilion built by his predecessor, the third

of his line. The roof and pillars of the Kinkakuji were plated with pure gold, and the roof of the Ginkakuji with pure silver, and the interior decorations of both were the handiwork of the most skilful artists of the time, to whom their production was a labour of love principally rewarded by the approving smiles of the Shogun and his household. The art of landscape gardening was brought to a high degree of perfection in the realisation of Japanese tastes under the fostering patronage of the Ashikaga, and the surrounding gardens of the two pavilions, with their noble pine-trees, reflected all its most alluring aspects. Nothing was wanting that could make both attractive to the most exacting dilettante, a description peculiarly applicable not only to Yoshimasa but to several others of his line.

"They loved thatched cottages as simple in appearance as those of the meanest peasant yet whose proportions were designed by the highest genius of Shojo or Soami, whose pillars were of the costliest incense wood from the farthest Indian islands: even whose iron kettles were marvels of workmanship designed by Sesshu. Beauty, they said, is always deeper as hidden within than as outwardly expressed. Thus it would be their joy to ornament an ink-box with simple lacquering on the outside and in its hidden parts with costly gold work. Even to the present day the people wear their costliest stuffs for under-garments." (Brinkley.)

All of them, frivolous and dissipated as they were, lived in luxury at Kyoto, no matter what were the conditions of the country, and around them were gathered the greatest workers in every field of art. They have been called the Medici of mediæval Japan. Painting was represented by Josetsu, Sesshu, Shubun, Shinno, Cho Densu (the Fra Angelico of Japan), Masanobu, Motonobu, Jasoku, some of them Buddhist priests, whose works are now valued in Japan as are those of the greatest of the old masters, Murillo, Titian and Rembrandt, in Europe. Porcelain and faience first became artistic products in this era, and artists in lacquer-ware, who have no peers throughout the world, attained such beauty in their workmanship that the finest specimens of the art are to this day particularised by dealers by the name of Yoshimasa's palace. Goto, the founder of the art of damascening, an art which has many masters who have given us the marvellous sword-hilts, guards and ornaments which are now the joy of European collectors, lived and worked in the fifteenth century. The *netsuke* and the *inro* were the products of later years, and neither architecture nor sculpture seems to have appealed to the great patrons as did painting and damascening. In architecture their tastes lay in interior decoration, and the great wonders of Japanese sculpture date from an anterior period.

The No, a species of lyric drama, resembling in its main features the ancient Greek drama and in its spirit the mystery plays of the Middle Ages, the most classic form of the Japanese drama, owes its first introduction into the Court life of the capital to Yoshimochi, the fourth Shogun, who took the manager of a No theatre into his own personal service. The No were essentially religious performances, acted at the great shrines of the Shinto gods, tracing their remote origin to the *Kagura*, the pantomimic dance which is performed at Shinto festivals to the music of pipe and drum in commemoration of the dance by which the Sun-Goddess was, in the age of the Gods, enticed from the rock cave of Heaven. They retained their favour through all succeeding years at the Shogun's Court, not only of the Ashikaga but of their Tokugawa successors, and enjoyed also the patronage of the two soldiers who ruled the Empire in the interval between the two dynasties. At the present day representations are given at the Imperial palace by the direct descendants of the actors who first performed them at Yoshimochi's palace five hundred years ago. The actors have always been samurai. The first to win Yoshimochi's smiles was even a Daimio and became a Buddhist priest, and they have jealously preserved both the social status to which their birth entitled them and the rigid monopoly of their cult, while their performances are given for the Court, the aristocracy and the learned, never for the vulgar.

Their language, the plays upon words and the classical allusions with which it teems, indeed renders them unintelligible to the uneducated crowd, who are further but little attracted by the simplicity of their presentation on the stage, which is always open to the air on three of its sides and to this day retains the primitive elements that surrounded them at their homes in the Shinto temples of long ago. If, however, the stage itself is simple, the dresses of the actors are the finest and most gorgeous brocades of the Kyoto looms ; and the masks, which are always worn, are triumphs of artistic skill and as old as the families of their wearers, having been carefully preserved and transmitted from generation to generation. The Bugaku music, the classical music of Japan, tracing its origin far away to the remote Hang dynasty in China (A.D. 202–220) and even still more remotely to primeval days in India, first became known in Japan in the Nara epoch. It reached its fullest development under the Ashikaga and, like the No, it still remains the monopoly of a hereditary caste, the direct descendants of those who performed it before the Ashikaga and who now form the band of

Court musicians under the Board of Ceremonies at the Imperial Court of Tokyo.

Japanese literature is abundant, varied, and in many of its aspects is of a very high standard ; but the Ashikaga epoch was almost entirely barren. Besides the No, its only legacies of any value are the histories of Chikafusa, an official of aristocratic birth who served Go Daigo, and Kojima, a Buddhist monk of Hiyei Zan, who wrote a history of contemporaneous events, and a volume of essays by another writer, Kenko, who had been a courtier and, like many of his fellows, high and low, left the Court for a monastery.

If art, luxury and refinement flourished at the Court of the Ashikaga, anarchy was rampant throughout the rest of the land through almost the entire existence of their dynasty. Like them, the Hojo before them were usurpers, but they gave the nation peace and good government. So did the Tokugawa, also usurpers, who followed them. The Ashikaga dynasty was in power longer than either the Hojo or Tokugawa, but it never secured absolutely unbroken peace. Takauji fought his way to his vice-regal seat and maintained it in a welter of bloodshed. The Wars of the Dynasties lasted without an interval for sixty years. Hardly were they over when a serious rising occurred in Kyushu. The Onin war, a war of territorial magnates, with a struggle for the succession to the Shogunate as a side-issue, began in 1467 and lasted for eleven years, with immense destruction both of life and property. After its close some or other of the territorial magnates were always fighting to enlarge or defend their estates. Takauji's successors, to secure themselves, made grants of large estates to their followers, some of whom acquired such wealth and strength that they were able to defy their master and establish themselves on their own estates as absolute rulers, owing neither obedience nor fealty to the Central Government, itself an unscrupulous usurper of the Imperial prerogatives. They levied their own taxes, enacted their own laws, and made war or peace with their neighbours as their own will directed them with utter disregard to the commands of the Shogun.

As the dynasty in the sixteenth century tottered to its close, its weak representatives, sunk in voluptuousness and debauchery, left the entire discharge of their administrative functions to their Ministers ; the Ashikaga became such as were the Emperors under the Fujiwara or the Hojo under their stewards, whilst the territorial nobles, equal or superior in strength to the Ashikaga, treated the Government with insolent contemptuous-

ness ; they did not make even a pretence of obeying its decrees, while they tolerated no interference whatever in the internal affairs of their own domains. Ambition and covetousness grew with possession, and the larger were the estates of any individual noble so was he the more eager to increase them. Only might could retain what might had won, and the sword was never sheathed.

From the extreme south to the far north the story was the same. In Kyushu there were five great families who shared the island between them from the days of Yoritomo. Two of them altogether disappeared : they were exterminated. Two others managed to retain one province each, while the fifth, the Shimazu of Satsuma, whose founder was Tadahisa, an illegitimate son of Yoritomo, now represented in the highest rank of the modern peerage by two members directly descended from him, succeeded in adding to their original possession, the province of Satsuma, the other six provinces in the island. One family made itself supreme in Shikoku. In the mainland, in the south, Mori, the Lord of Choshiu, the direct ancestor of Prince Mori of the present day, made himself master of no less than thirteen provinces, all in fact comprising what is known as the Chugoku or Central Country. In the east, Takeda Shingen and Uyesugi Kenshin, both great military leaders, recognised as the two greatest strategists of their time, both acquired estates that extended over provinces and then turned their arms against each other without either side obtaining a decisive victory. Hojo Ujiyasu ruled the whole of the Kwanto from his fortress at Odawara. He was originally only a vassal of another family, and all that he had he won by the sword and retained by wise and frugal administration. Confusion sometimes arises between the Shikken who ruled in Kamakura in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the Hojo of Odawara. There was a semblance of relationship between the two families in that both descended from the Taira, but the Hojo of Kamakura were extinct when the family of Odawara was founded. In the north, the Date family overcame and overshadowed all other landowners as did the Shimazu and Mori in the south. One other successful freebooter, destined to be greater than all of these, Ota Nobunaga, will be referred to in a later chapter.

In addition to the nobles the Buddhist priests played their part in the national chaos. They all combined the occupations of warriors and priests, and were as skilful with their swords and halberds and as much at home in armour as they were in their coifs and in their expounding of the Scriptures. Their monas-

teries were fortresses as strong as those of the greatest nobles, and from them they levied tribute on travellers as sternly as did the most implacable robber-barons of the Middle Ages in Germany. Hiyei Zan was notorious in this respect. On the mountain slopes that command the Tokaido, the great high road from Kamakura to Kyoto, there were three thousand temples or monasteries, full to overflowing with a huge priestly army. Their alliance was valued and eagerly sought by warring nobles, and, when offended on their own account, they were in the habit of descending on the unhappy capital and extorting satisfaction at sword or halberd point, a terror not only to the city but to the Court. Rival sects even fought with each other. In Kyoto there was the great Hongwanji monastery of the Shinto Buddhists, well garrisoned by fighting monks who were in perpetual feud with the monks of Hiyei Zan of the Tendai sect. After many controversies, the monks of Hiyei Zan fell, sword and torch in hand, on Hongwanji and burnt it to the ground. Many of the nobles maintained palaces in Kyoto which were in truth fortresses, and their retainers were, like the Montagues and Capulets, always ready to draw their swords when they met; sometimes indeed the individual duels developed into battles in which the whole strength of the vassals of rival nobles took part.

Meanwhile the artistic life of the Court went on with self-contained equanimity, and the Shogun and his mistresses and his courtiers were happy in their cultivation of art, in their singing, music and dancing, in their incense and flower parties, their gardens and their tea ceremonies, their picnics on bright spring days to view the cherry blossoms, or to gather mushrooms in the autumn; also in their religion, for the Ashikaga were devout followers of the austere Zen sect of Buddhism, and built temples as extensively and generously as they did palaces and pavilions. The people, on the other hand, both in the capital and in the country, suffered as did the German people in the Thirty Years' War or the French in the Hun invasion in the Great War. They were harried and devastated on every side. "In the capital there was practically no government. Riot and insurrection were daily features and brigandage prevailed unchecked." Whole streets were often burnt to the ground during the clansmen's brawls, and the people, frenzied with terror, had to seek shelter and safety wherever they could, having lost all they owned and being fortunate if they were able to escape with life through the midst of the fighting factions.

In the provinces there were brief breathing periods from pure exhaustion, but war was almost perpetual. Nearly every

province became in turn the battlefield of rival lords all anxious to despoil each other. Castled towns and open country were alike laid waste. Kamakura had risen from its ashes after the downfall of the Hojo, but it was again taken by storm on two occasions, in 1455 and in 1524, and on each reduced once more to ruins. From its last downfall it never recovered. Nothing except a few temples and the great and majestic statue of Buddha—the Dai Butsu that is the Mecca of all Western tourists in Japan—now remains of Yoritomo's populous and wealthy city, which for two centuries concentred in itself so large a share in the industry and prosperity of the Empire; in which the foundations were laid of the feudal system that was the soul of Japan from the time of Yoritomo down to a period within the experience of living men; whose streets and suburbs once covered the whole district, both coast and far inland. Agriculture was naturally neglected when the farmer had no confidence that he would ever be allowed to reap the crops he sowed; famine, followed by pestilence, ensued, and the people died like flies. The wastage of samurai had to be made good by sturdy peasants and workmen who were taken from their fields and shops to fill the depleted ranks of the fighting-men. Feudal castles were destroyed and had to be rebuilt by forced labour, and productive industry almost ceased to exist in either town or country.

While internal disorder was universal, Japanese pirates swarmed in the Eastern seas and harried with merciless cupidity the coasts of Korea and China, sometimes even making their way far up the great rivers of China. It was under the semblance of compounding for their misdeeds that Yoshimitsu sent his tribute to the Court of China and brought dishonour on his country and himself. Along with his tribute he surrendered twenty notorious pirates to China, and they were boiled to death in copper kettles. Not even this terrible example, still less the peremptory prohibitions issued by the Shogun to his countrymen, served to stop the practice of piracy, and it continued throughout the whole of the Ashikaga régime, some of the greatest families in the land not disdaining to share and profit by it. From the eleventh to the sixteenth century Japanese pirates were as great a terror to the coasts of the continent, from Korea almost to Siam, as were long ago the Norse and Danish rovers of the sea to the coasts of England and Ireland. Soldiers whose feudal lords had been defeated and spoiled of their estates by their conquerors, driven out of their own country as homeless and masterless fugitives, sought new careers in the galleys that

roved on the Eastern seas just as broken gallants or runaway apprentices in England did on the Spanish Main in the reign of Queen Bess; and the mercy which these showed to Spanish colonists was on a par with that of the Japanese to the coast-dwellers in Korea.

They had never received mercy in their own country. It was a quality the exercise of which towards beaten foes was so rare as to be almost unknown in Japan until our own day. What the pirates had never known at the hands of their own countrymen they were little likely to show to defenceless aliens, and life to the Koreans on the coast was almost one unending dread. There were, however, exceptional periods. King Taijo, the founder in 1392 of the royal dynasty of Korea, which came to an end only on the annexation of his Kingdom by Japan in 1910, reorganised his army and his soldiers, and not only did he drive off the pirates with heavy loss from his own coasts but he pursued and exterminated them on the sea. It was not, however, till the unification of the Empire by Hideyoshi, in the later years of the sixteenth century, that Japanese piracy, on a scale that made it an industry of the nation, can be said to have come to an end.

The Ashikaga dynasty lasted from 1333 to 1573. For the first sixty years of this period the False Emperors reigned at Kyoto while the *de jure* Sovereigns were in exile at Yoshino. From 1393, when Go Komatsu (1393–1412) was recognised as the true Emperor, till the fall of the Ashikaga there were in all six Emperors successively on the throne, the first two of whom came to the throne as boys. Not one of them has made any mark in history, and all passed their lives in the lowest abyss of political impotence.

The theoretical absolutism of the Emperor in all ages has been referred to before in this volume. Loyalty to the Emperor that amounts to reverential worship has been the theory not only of the Constitution but of the national religion of Japan from the accession of Jimmu Tenno down to to-day, when the most pronounced socialist does not venture even to whisper a word against the throne. A venerated divine Sovereign and a people bound to him by the ties of common descent and by a loyalty, based on the principles of the Yamato Damashi, the spirit of Japan which unites lord and vassal and is the mainstay of the great mutual relations established among men, which are found in perfection in Japan alone, are the leading principles of the Japanese constitution. And yet:

" The sober fact is that no nation probably has ever treated its sovereigns more cavalierly than the Japanese have done from the beginning of authentic history down to within the memory of living men. Emperors have been deposed ; Emperors have been assassinated. For centuries every succession to the throne was the signal for intrigues and sanguinary broils. Emperors have been exiled : some have been murdered in exile. From the remote island to which he had been relegated one managed to escape hidden under a load of dried fish. . . . For long centuries the government was in the hands of Mayors of the Palace, who substituted one infant sovereign for another, generally forcing each to abdicate as soon as he approached man's estate. At one period these Mayors of the Palace left the Descendant of the Sun in such distress that His Imperial Majesty and the Imperial Princes were obliged to gain livelihoods by selling their autographs. Nor did any party in the State protest against this condition of affairs." (Chamberlain.)

This extract is not without exaggeration, but it is in the main true, and the worst incidents to which it refers occurred during the Ashikaga régime. The Emperor Go Tsuchi Mikado (1465–1500) died in the year 1500, at the age of fifty-nine years, after a reign of thirty-five years. So poor was the Court that his body lay unburied for forty days, for want of funds to defray the cost of his funeral rites. For the same reason the coronation of his successor, Go Kashiwabara (1500–1526), was delayed for twenty years, and then the means for it were found by a Buddhist priest who contributed £30,000 out of the subscriptions of his disciples. When this Emperor died, in his turn, his funeral train consisted only of twenty-six officials. The Emperor Go Nara (1526–1557), who was thirty-two years of age when he ascended the throne, defrayed his daily expenses by copying extracts from the classics at a very humble charge for anyone who asked for them. The palace was left unrepaired, its walls afforded no privacy, and the gardens were overrun by townspeople and children. Even the holy shrines of Ise were not rebuilt. The courtiers, the proud nobles, actually begged for rice in the streets, and some of them died within the palace walls from cold and hunger.

All this time Kyoto was the centre of the anarchy that was universal throughout the nation, and to the degradation of want and poverty was added the perpetual danger from the warring factions of both priests and laymen which rendered the city a pandemonium of misery and insecurity. It was all an unhappy chapter in the history of Japan, marked by every incident that could befall a people reduced to the last depths of misery and want. In the Shogun's palace luxury and art flourished. Elsewhere, there were murder, hunger, arson, pillage, robbery, prostitution on a scale never known before or since. Education

nearly ceased to exist; but, happily, the priests were not all fighting-men. Under the protection of their swords many lived who never permitted the lights of learning and literary culture to die, and the Tera Koya, the temple schools, were never entirely closed. But the sword was the sole passport to success or even safety in life. Men and women to whose lives or homes a day's security could never be guaranteed had no time for study, and outside the ranks of the priesthood even reading and writing were rare accomplishments. All the miseries wrought by man, by famine and by pestilence, were supplemented by the terrors of nature. Earthquakes, floods, tidal waves and storms were, throughout the whole epoch, abnormally frequent and destructive in a land that is never free from them.

The last three Shoguns of the Ashikaga line were Yoshiharu (1521–1545), Yoshiteru (1546–1565) and Yoshiaki (1568–1573). All three fell under the usual blight of mental and physical deterioration which runs through all Japanese history, yielding themselves up to idleness and self-indulgence and leaving the discharge of their duties to subordinates. Yoshiteru was killed by his own ministers, and Yoshiaki, after a chequered career, was deposed in 1573. He then retired to a monastery where he lived for twenty-five years afterwards, always retaining the title of Shogun though taking no part in public affairs.

With him ended the Ashikaga dynasty. They are no more heard of in history; but one story not without interest may be told of them. In Kyoto there is not far from the Kinkakuji a famous temple called Toji-in, founded by Ashikaga Takauji. In it are effigies of all the Shoguns of his line, all executed by contemporaneous artists, and they may therefore be assumed to be true representations of their originals in their lifetime. During the movements which led to the Restoration in 1868, the reformers, who dared not openly vilify the Tokugawa, used the Ashikaga as subjects for their condemnations of the Shoguns as usurpers and tyrants, and poured upon their memories a torrent of insulting and damning criticism, as they might well easily do. The climax was reached when on the morning of April 9, 1863, three of the heads of the statues, including that of Takauji, were found pilloried on the dry bed of the River Kamo, the place in which it was the custom to expose the decapitated heads of common criminals or of political offenders. They had been cut off during the night by a band of *Ronin*, who by this intended to draw a comparison between the Ashikaga and the Tokugawa as fellow-criminals towards their

Emperors, and to intimate the fate that they thought should befall the latter.

It was during the Shogunate of Yoshiharu and in the reign of the Emperor Go Nara that the Portuguese first landed in Japan, and it was during that of Yoshiteru that St. François Xavier reached Kyoto, the first European to do so, having with two other priests made his way in mid-winter all the way from Hirado, far off on the coast of Kyushu, on foot, often barefooted, insufficiently clothed, carrying their own baggage, without guides and often losing their way, with only a scanty provision of dried rice for their fare. It is a pathetic picture to contemplate in one's imagination, the great apostle of Christ endeavouring to explain the Gospel in the crowded streets of Kyoto, with their constant brawls and disturbances, in a language of which he had no real command, to people who had never seen, and most of whom had never heard of, a European before. A parallel case might be that of a dignified and learned Korean, in his own dress, soiled and worn to rags, expounding in very broken English but with intense earnestness, the Buddhist Sutra in the streets of Westminster when they were thronged with Chartists or Suffragettes, all in the worst of tempers. What would have been his reception ? And yet in Kyoto, even as it was then, Xavier seems to have met with no rudeness, though his attempts at preaching were wasted, and he soon left the city to wait for better times. To him and his followers, throughout the next hundred years, the Shogun was always the Sovereign, and the real Emperor a mere shadow who need not be feared and whose favour as a stimulant to the people was not worth winning.

CHAPTER IX

THE MOMOYAMA EPOCH

ANOTHER epoch now dawns in which the continuity of the Shogunate is broken for a generation, and the Empire comes under the domination of two successive military dictators who, though they presided over a more highly-centralised Government than either Yoritomo or Takauji, when at the summit of their power, were never vested with the title of Shogun. These dictators were Ota Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. With them has to be associated the name of Tokugawa Iyeyasu, the founder of the last and greatest of the Shogunates. All three were soldiers, all were associated in their careers, and all are entitled to share in the credit of ultimately bringing peace to a land in which civil war had hardly ever ceased throughout five centuries.

Ota Nobunaga was a descendant of the Taira. The wife of one of that clan, who was killed at the battle of Dan-no-Ura, escaped with her infant son, and the son grew up and became the first of a long line of Shinto priests. The head of the family in the eighth generation, like many others, forsook the priesthood for the sword, and in the turmoil of the times acquired a small fief in Owari. He died in 1549, and his son, then sixteen years of age, succeeded to his inheritance. It was during the worst period of disorder in the Ashikaga epoch, and it seemed little likely that a boy, one who had until then shown no aptitude for the serious work of life, would be able to hold his fief against the covetous and powerful robber barons who swarmed all around him. The reckless, idle boy turned over a new leaf. It is said that he was induced to do so by his tutor who, by committing *hara kiri*, brought home to his pupil the lesson he had in vain essayed to teach by precept. Then a change came. The boy showed himself a man of courage, decision, and of eminent military genius, and he not only held his own fief but steadily increased it until four pro-

vinces acknowledged him as their lord. Then Yoshiaki, the last of the Ashikaga, in his extremity, asked his aid in Kyoto. It was promptly given, and Nobunaga was soon master of the capital, with complete control over both the tottering Shogun and the *fainéant* Emperor in his palace. He soon lost patience with the Shogun and deposed him, and no successor was appointed.

Nobunaga was content with the power without the title and, during nine years, he governed with a strong hand but with wisdom, generosity and equity. He restored security of life and property where there had been previously murder and rapine, and peace and prosperity were once more apparent in the central provinces of the Empire, in which no one was left strong enough to dispute his sway and where his writ ran without question or murmur. Order was fully established in the capital. The great fortress of Hiyei Zan was stormed, its priestly garrison exterminated, and a haunting terror was thus ended for ever. In the succeeding years other fortresses, held by similar priestly garrisons, including the Hongwanji of Osaka, in turn surrendered to him, and the Buddhist priesthood ceased, as a political and military factor, to be a disturber of the national peace.

He was at the height of his fame and power. He had just built a great castle for himself at Azuchi on the shore of Lake Biwa. Portuguese were now numerous in Japan, both as traders and missionaries. As both they were welcomed by Nobunaga, and Japan learned much from them, among other things the use of firearms and the science of fortification as followed in Europe. Azuchi was the first of the modern feudal fortresses of Japan, with moats, donjons, glacis, and lofty walls of huge blocks of stone fitted together without cement. To the castle he added an equally splendid temple, in which was an idol of himself which all were called upon to worship, every earthly happiness being assured to those who did so, and dire threats, only too likely to be fulfilled, held out against those who failed. The new town was thronged so that would-be worshippers, high and low, all eager to do honour to their ruler, had to camp in the fields or sleep in boats on the lake.

In a moment all was changed. "Forgetting himself and affecting resemblance with God, the Omnipotent struck him in His fury." Treachery, engendered by hatred, jealousy and revenge, brought his doom, and he fell beneath the sword of one of his most trusted followers, one of noble birth on whom he had heaped favours both of wealth and rank, but

one whom he had also bitterly offended by a coarse and stupid practical joke when in an hour of conviviality. The assassin had a brief moment of triumph. He rewarded his soldiers by the loot of Azuchi and then, master of the capital, he forced from the Emperor a nomination as Shogun: and he is contemptuously known in history as the "Twelve-days' Shogun."

In the year 1536, a son was born in a little village in the province of Owari to a poor wood-cutter. The child grew up into a boy of diminutive stature, awkward and ungainly, with a wizened face and unusually dark complexion, both rendering him so little prepossessing that he was given the nickname of "the Monkey." On the other hand, he displayed intense precociousness, even as a child, and his eyes were of such intense brilliancy that according to the Jesuit chroniclers, who knew him well, "they sent out fire in flashes enough to pass through." As a child he hawked, in the streets of his native village, the wood cut by his father on the mountains and, when a little older, obtained menial employment in the castle of a local feudatory. It is said that, even as a boy, he detected the coming greatness of Nobunaga, who was just then at the opening of his career, still only a feudatory of comparatively small wealth or strength and with a future full of uncertainty. Be this as it may, Hideyoshi, the name by which the village boy was afterwards known, entered Nobunaga's service as groom, and soon became his personal horse-boy, whose duty it is to be in direct attendance on his master when mounted. Now he had full opportunity of displaying his smartness, and he did it so effectively that, from being a running groom, he was made a soldier; and thence his rise was rapid. His bravery and his skill on active service won repeated distinction, and within a few more years the former hawker and horse-boy was one of the most capable and trusted of Nobunaga's generals, finally taking the lead of all and becoming his chief's right-hand man in both his military and civil councils.

In no country in the world were the dignities of birth and breeding, at any period, more essential factors in the service of the State than in old Japan. Two years ago (1921) a commoner of plebeian origin held the office of Prime Minister. But there is only one previous instance in history of a commoner rising to the highest dignity of the State, and that is furnished by Hideyoshi. He has been called not inaptly the Napoleon of Japan. His part was played on the narrower and unknown field of the East, but there his name resounded as one of terror, just as Napoleon's did in Europe. He commanded armies just

as large and irresistible as were Napoleon's, and his military genius was no less supreme either in organisation or in strategy and tactics. Like Napoleon, he rose from a humble class, far humbler than Napoleon's, by his own energy, courage and genius, but unlike Napoleon he died while still at the summit of his greatness, in almost royal dignity as the autocrat of all his country.

When Nobunaga was assassinated, Mori, the lord of the western provinces of the mainland, the direct ancestor of the feudatory who in 1863, with a fief shorn of four-fifths of its former extent, defied the combined naval strength of the allied Powers of the West, still disputed Nobunaga's authority and flung defiance in his face. Hideyoshi had been given command of the army sent against him, and the first hostilities of the campaign had taken place when the news came to him of his master's death. He lost not a day. A peace was patched up with Mori, and then by forced marches he hurried back to Kyoto. Once arrived at Kyoto he soon executed summary vengeance on the traitors and assassins. Nobunaga had left a grandson and two sons. One of the sons killed himself after a vain effort to oppose Hideyoshi in arms. The other and the grandson, when he grew older, were endowed with wealthy fiefs. Neither inherited a particle of their father's and grandfather's great qualities, and both, recognising their inability to contend against Hideyoshi, were content to retire from the political turmoil of the capital into the comparative obscurity, wealth, comfort and dignity of a provincial landholder, with the Empire at peace.

Another short campaign brought the great island of Shikoku into subjection, and Hideyoshi now had the ball at his feet. The way was clear for him to make himself the first subject of the Empire, the direct controller of all its interests and destinies. His ambition suggested himself as a follower in the ways trodden by Yoritomo and Takauji, not only supreme in his lifetime but the founder of a family who should conserve, through generations to come, the dignity which he would bequeath to them. But there was one great obstacle. None, not belonging to the blue-blooded Minamoto family, could hold the dignity of Shogun, and the Emperor, even with Hideyoshi, the military dictator, in his capital, could not bring himself to confer it on the son of a peasant. It will be remembered that Yoshiaki, the last of the Ashikaga, took refuge in a monastery after his deposition. He was still alive, and Hideyoshi endeavoured to overcome the obstacle by inducing Yoshiaki to adopt him as his son. Adoption in Japan brings with it every privilege of real birth, not

only the name and all moral and legal rights of succession to title and land, but, strange to say, nearly always the affection which a father has for a son born of his loins. Yoshiaki proved no less repugnant than the Emperor, though, had he yielded, his fortunes would no doubt have undergone a great change for the better.

With a still more nobly descended family, however, Hideyoshi was more successful. The Fujiwara were now divided into five families, and one of the five was induced by poverty to yield to Hideyoshi's request. The ex-horse-boy thus became a member of the illustrious family, sprung, as were the Emperors, direct from the Gods of Heaven, and one of the inner circle of the proud Court nobility. The honours of the Court then fell thickly upon him. He became Naidaijin and subsequently Kwampaku, both, it is to be remembered, offices always reserved for Court nobles, though the Shogunate was still closed to him. He retained in his own name the office of Kwampaku for a few years and then resigned it in favour of his nephew and, as was customary, assumed the honorary title of Taiko, by which he is best known in history—The Taiko—the greatest of all the long list of its noble holders.

His subsequent career and the use which he made of the great power he had acquired were in keeping with the mastering energy of his earlier years. His authority was still unrecognised by three great feudatories: Date in the north; Hojo in the Kwanto; and by Shimazu, the strongest of all, in the far south. All three refused to submit to him, or even, while he was dominant at Kyoto, to render allegiance to the Emperor. Envoys professing his good-will were sent to Shimazu, but the proud noble tore the letter they bore to pieces in their presence, after a bare affectation of glancing at it, stamped upon the pieces and, declaring in a loud voice that never would a lord of Satsuma render obedience to a monkey-faced upstart, told the messengers that was the answer they might take back to their master.

Hideyoshi's reply to this gross insult was prompt. An army of over 300,000 men and 20,000 horses was assembled. On January 22, 1587, Hideyoshi set out from Osaka with the main body of 130,000 men and reached Shimonoseki on February 17 after a march of 300 miles. The campaign through Kyushu was a hard-fought one through all its stages, but it ended in the total defeat of the Satsuma forces; and the proud feudatory had to sue for peace to the upstart whom he had so grossly insulted. His own execution and the confiscation of all his estates would have been the natural corollaries of his con-

duct, which had entailed the sacrifice of thousands of lives and millions of treasure, but Hideyoshi showed that he could be as magnanimous in negotiation as he was successful in the field. The provinces which Satsuma had wrested from other feudatories in Kyushu were taken from him, but he was left in possession of his own fief in the extreme south, to be held in future as a grant from the Emperor, and with that he was still the strongest and wealthiest feudatory in the island. Date, who held in the far north a position not unlike that of Satsuma in the extreme south, both warned and encouraged by Satsuma's fate, yielded peacefully to Hideyoshi's terms, but Hojo of Odawara, the Lord of the Kwanto, head of a family in which military genius was hereditary, was more refractory, and another severe campaign became necessary.

Victory again attended Hideyoshi's arms, but this time no mercy was shown. The Hojo domains were required to reward Iyeyasu, the greatest among Hideyoshi's generals, so they were confiscated; and their former owner, a proud, capable and wealthy noble, was executed and his head exposed as that of a common criminal on the river bed at Kyoto. This was in the year 1590. It is a date important in Japanese history, both from the fact that the whole Empire, from the extreme north of the Main Island (Yezo or Hokkaido was still unknown) to the extreme south of Kyushu was, for the first time, unified under the Central Government and domestic peace restored after five centuries of civil war; and also that from it dates the foundation of Yedo, until then an insignificant fortress, in the midst of a few poor villages, as the capital of Eastern Japan, the great and wealthy city of the Tokugawa Shoguns, ultimately destined as Tokyo to become the capital of the whole Empire. Yedo means "River door." It lies where the River Sumida flows into the Gulf of Tokyo. Iyeyasu wished to retain the castled town of the Hojo as his capital, but Hideyoshi pointed out the advantages, both commercial and strategic, of Yedo, and Iyeyasu yielded to his judgment, in doing so manifesting his foresight as a statesman and an administrator.

Hideyoshi was now supreme in the Empire and able to devote himself to its peaceful development. Not even the utmost stress of militarism had previously absorbed all his inexhaustible energy, and he had already done much; but much more was yet to come. In 1583 he fixed upon Osaka as his residence and from that year its rise dates as the great commercial and industrial city of the Empire. As Yedo lies at the mouth of the Sumida, so does Osaka, the "great ascent," at the mouth of the River

Yodo. It was not like Yedo a new town. It was here that Jimmu landed on his way to Yamato, and here the Emperor Nintoku had his capital eight hundred years before Hideyoshi. It was then called Naniwa—" wave flowers "—and it is by that soft-sounding term that it is mentioned in Japanese poetry. Here Hideyoshi built a new palace for himself on the site where the great fortress-temple of Hongwanji stood before its warrior priests surrendered it to Nobunaga. Immense sums were spent upon it, and the most skilled workmen in all departments of the building-trade were conscripted from every province and city of the Empire. It is said to have been the most splendid building ever erected in Japan, even to this day.

" The roof was all gilt, and it darted out so great a lustre that one could have taken it for some terrestrial sun that eclipsed in some manner the very light of the Celestial sun itself."

Near the castle a great town soon began to grow, and Hideyoshi resolved to make it spacious and prosperous—and he succeeded. It grew into one of the great commercial and industrial towns of the world. Nor, while creating a new city, was the venerable and hallowed capital neglected. Well governed, with peace restored and security of life and property established, it quickly rose from its ashes and regained its old grandeur in its imposing temples and its palaces of wealthy nobles. Here, too, Hideyoshi gratified his overweening vanity and love of display. At different times he built two great palaces here for himself. The first, known as the Jurakutei—Mansion of Pleasure—was in 1586. " Its high towers shone like stars in the sky, and its golden dragons sang songs among the clouds." This palace was afterwards assigned to his nephew, Hidetsugu, when he became Kwampaku, and then Hideyoshi built another great palace in the suburbs at Momoyama—Peach Hill—surpassing the first in the splendour of its interior decorations and in the beauty of its surrounding gardens. Visitors to Japan, who see the surviving glories of the Nikko temples, may estimate those of Momoyama when they hear that the finest and most impressive decorations of Nikko are but replicas of Momoyama and but poorly repeat its beauties. It is from this palace that the term generally used to particularise this period of history has been taken.

The list of benefits for which his country is indebted to Hideyoshi during the period is a long one. Every department of the Government felt the influence of his masterful will and clear head. Taxation and coinage were reformed; gold and

silver coins were minted and became the standards of value; agriculture, trade and industry were fostered; the poor were protected against tyranny and extortion. His extravagance in the internal decoration of his many palaces gave a great stimulus to art, though neither he nor the fighting nobles of the Empire had much taste for it except in its practical application, and even in that respect strong walls without appealed to the majority more than the highest achievements of artistic genius within their castles. One and all endeavoured according to his means to imitate Momoyama as best he could. As a man who had received little education in his youth and whose life was mainly that of a soldier on active service, Hideyoshi had neither the taste nor the leisure for legislation or literature; but neither was entirely neglected. His period attracts little notice in anthologies of the native literature, but some of his legislative efforts have been preserved, and they betray the paternal interest in the daily lives of the people that is a prominent feature in Confucian ethics of government.

Had Hideyoshi been content to devote his great talents and energy to the material development of his country after peace had been firmly established within its borders and its unification completed under a strong central Government, his fame would have been spared from a dark stain, and history would have given him even a greater place in its annals than it now does as one of the great men of all time. But his ambition was as insatiable as that of the Napoleon to whom he is compared. Having brought all his own country under his control he resolved to conquer China and, as a stepping-stone to the great Empire, to bring Korea first beneath his heel. Indeed, he scarcely concealed his intention to make China, in its turn, another stepping-stone to the conquest of the world, of which, beyond the limits of the Far East, even his geographical knowledge was embryonic. He knew, however, the history of Kublai Khan, and where he had triumphed in his trans-Asian marches, was it possible that Hideyoshi should fail? A stimulus to his ambition was the hope of his own posthumous deification by his countrymen. Ojin, son of the Empress Jingo, was, in honour of his mother's conquest of Korea, deified as Hachiman, the God of War, and has ever since been worshipped as their patron god by all the soldiers of the land. A second conquest might produce his own admission as a no less prominent member to the national pantheon: to be another god to whom soldiers should pray through all ages to come; whose divinity would secure to his descendants for ever the succession to the dignities

he had won and the permanence of the great family he hoped to found as rulers of the Empire after he had gone.

Intercourse had almost entirely ceased between Japan and Korea during the long sequence of domestic turmoil in Japan, though the small Japanese trading settlement at Fusan, the port in southern Korea nearest to Japan, still existed. Here two divisions of the Japanese army were landed in April 1592, the advance divisions of an army of 280,000 men, all tried veterans, seasoned by years of war in their own country, under the command of two generals, Konishi Yukinaga and Kato Kiyomasa, both of whom had already given the fullest proofs of their ability to Hideyoshi. Both were, like Hideyoshi himself, self-made.

From beginning to end the Japanese campaign in Korea lasted for six years. It brought neither honour nor profit to Japan, and it inflicted such calamitous suffering and devastation upon Korea that she never recovered from it, either morally or materially. The people were crushed in spirit and the land was ruined. The Koreans were utterly unprepared. They had been warned but they had not hearkened. Long-continued peace had emasculated their ancient military spirit: they had neither generals, soldiers, nor arms. The walls of their cities were tumbling to pieces. On the Japanese side, everything was ready. The experience of the Satsuma campaign had been put to its fullest use, and nothing was forgotten that could be required. They had learned from the Portuguese the use of firearms, of which the Koreans knew nothing, and the army was fully provided with them; but as the range of the bow was longer than that of the fire-lock, archers still constituted a substantial element in the ranks. Both the Japanese armies marched through the whole peninsula, that of Yukinaga to the extreme north-west, and that of Kiyomasa to the north-east. The capital was captured, and everywhere the helpless Koreans were driven in flight before the irresistible conquerors. Wherever the Japanese passed they left behind them blackened ruins where there had been towns, and wasted fields which up till then were smiling with flourishing crops. China came to Korea's help, and the Japanese, taken by surprise, and much harassed by a guerrilla war in which the Koreans proved themselves better soldiers than they were in a line of battle in the open field, were forced to make a hasty retreat to their base at Fusan. There an armistice was concluded which lasted for four years, during which the Japanese held their entrenchments at Fusan. Then active hostilities were renewed,

principally on account of a slight to Hideyoshi's personal vanity rendered by the Emperor of China, for which unhappy Korea had to suffer.

Japan was once more astir with military preparations, and an army of 130,000 men was soon gathered in Fusan, the command being again shared between the same two generals. The war continued for two more years, full of horror and suffering to Korea. This time she had the active aid of large Chinese forces, but her friends, who lived upon the country, were hardly less of a burden to her than her enemies; and between the two the helpless, crushed, and broken people starved, and pestilence soon followed in the tracks of famine. Again the Japanese were irresistible at first, and once more they marched through the country in triumph; but fortune changed. The Koreans, under an admiral whose genius as a sailor was not less than that of Hideyoshi as a soldier, who showed himself the Nelson of the Far East just as Hideyoshi was the Napoleon, gained the command of the sea, and the Japanese supplies were cut off. They were again obliged to retreat to Fusan, and here they were closely blockaded and reduced to extreme straits. But they held their ground and were still able to repel all assaults of the Chinese and Korean forces.

The last battle fought was at So-Chon, about twenty miles west of Fusan. The allies attacked in force, but were beaten back with such slaughter that, after the battle was over, 39,000 Chinese heads were gathered from the field. It was always the custom in old Japan for the victorious soldier to take his enemy's head and lay it before his general as evidence of his prowess. The heads taken on this occasion were too numerous to send across the sea to Hideyoshi, so the ears and noses were cut off and sent instead. Opposite the great temple of Daibutsu in Kyoto, first built by Hideyoshi in order that he might erect a Buddha which would rival Yoritomo's majestic image at Kamakura, a mound stands capped by a stone monument. It is known as the Mimi-Dzuka or "Ear Mound." Beneath it are buried the ears and noses sent to Hideyoshi from Korea, and it is said that not all of them were taken from the heads of the killed: many were taken from living Koreans.

The battle of So-Chon was hardly over when news came to the camp that the great dictator, for the gratification of whose personal vanity and ambition the war had been fought, was dead. The nation was weary of the war. The army at the front was still more weary. Even Hideyoshi himself had in his last days recognised its futility, and one of his last appeals

to his trusted friend Iyeyasu was, " Don't let my soldiers become spirits in a foreign land." An armistice was soon arranged by the generals on the spot, without even waiting for orders from the new Government, and the withdrawal of the troops, one and all pining for home, was carried out as quickly as possible ; the war was over. Its story is, taking it in its entirety, one of the vainest and most gruesome chapters in history. It began with an act of the most wanton aggression. It was carried through with ruthless cruelty, cruelty that was never surpassed by Hun, Turk or Mongol. On the one side, it left behind it ruin and desolation and a legacy of such bitter hatred that, to this day, a common vernacular term in Korea for the Japanese is " The accursed nation." On the other side, what did Japan gain by all her triumphs ? Loot that may have been much to individual soldiers but was insignificant to the nation ; some art treasures ; a few colonies of artists and skilled artisans who were settled in Japan and never permitted to return to their own country, from whom the Japanese no doubt learned much in subsequent years ; the practice of smoking tobacco ; and the " Ear Mound." That was all that Japan had to show for six years of war which had cost tens of thousands of her best soldiers and millions of treasure. Her domestic affairs now claimed all her attention.

Hideyoshi left a son who was five years old when his father died. It was the father's dearest wish to found a great family of rulers, and Iyeyasu solemnly promised the dying father that he would safeguard the interests of the son ; but no promises have ever stood in the way of the realisation of personal ambition in Japan. Iyeyasu was, after Hideyoshi's death, by far the most powerful of the feudal nobles, and his strength lay in the Kwanto, the nursery of the most virile soldiers of the nation. He was still further elevated above all his compeers by his own matchless genius. He was now undoubtedly the greatest soldier in the Empire and, being of Minamoto blood, the Shogunate was not barred against him as it was against Hideyoshi. Everything favoured him. His co-guardians, more faithful to their trust, championed the young child's cause, but it was already a lost cause. At the battle of Seki-ga-Hara—the plain of the barrier—a plain a little to the north of Lake Biwa, was fought one of the decisive battles of Japanese history ; and it ended in a complete victory for Iyeyasu. His enemies were hopelessly broken. On the field, where the battle was fought, there are two mounds, neither unlike the Mimi-Dzuka but with no stone monuments to cap them. They are

called the Kubi-Dzuka—the Head Mounds—and beneath them lie the heads of 40,000 of Iyeyasu's foes, many of whom, probably the majority, had fought in Korea. Yukinaga, the Christian general, the convert of whom the Jesuit missionaries were most proud, who had cast in his lot with them, was taken prisoner. No gratitude for his past services to his country availed to save him, and his head fell and was pilloried on the common execution-ground of the River Kamo. Korea was not entirely unavenged. Kiyomasa fought on Iyeyasu's side against his old fellow-general, against the interests of the child of his old patron; he lived in prosperity and high rank to a good old age, and was deified after his death.

After the battle Iyeyasu, now the undisputed master of Japan, entered Kyoto in triumph. The Emperor had no scruples in conferring upon him the great dignity to which he aspired, and as Sei-i-tai-Shogun he became, by law and custom, the chief executive authority of the Empire on behalf of the Emperor, under whose commission he acted. It is the custom in Japan when a cadet branch of a great family is formed to take a new surname, usually the geographical name of the district in which the home of the family lies. Iyeyasu's family, when founded as a branch of the Minamoto, had taken the surname of Tokugawa, a rivulet which flowed through their domain in the province of Shimotsuke, and it is by this surname that the dynasty of Shoguns which he founded is usually described, while the epoch of history in which they governed takes its name from the great city where they established their capital. It was on September 18, 1598, that Hideyoshi died. The battle of Seki-ga-Hara was fought on October 21, 1600. On March 28, 1603, the Shogunate was conferred by the Emperor on Iyeyasu, and on this last date the Momoyama epoch ended and the Yedo epoch began.

CHAPTER X

THE YEDO EPOCH

BEFORE peace was finally established on its solid basis under the Tokugawa one more gruesome tragedy had to be enacted. Hideyoshi's only son Hideyori, the son whom Iyeyasu had solemnly sworn to the father on his death-bed to protect as his own, and to whom his grand-daughter was married, still lived, and in his growing youth, under the direct guardianship of his mother, the Lady Yodo, who showed herself to be a woman of courage and of both political and administrative ability, gave promise of a vigorous and capable manhood. His father's name, his mother's skill and tact, and his own merits procured for him a large following in the Empire, and he was surrounded in his great castle at Osaka by men devoted to him, who still regarded Iyeyasu merely as a trustee for him until he came of full age. Iyeyasu, a devoted student of history, recalled the incident of Kiyomori and Yoritomo and its results, and he resolved to remove the threatened danger from the path of his own successors. No gratitude to Hideyoshi to whom he owed nearly all his own fortune, no pity for the widow and her young son or for his own grand-daughter, no scruple for his oath, no consideration for his good name in history restrained him. All who sprang from Hideyoshi or who still tendered allegiance to his son had to be destroyed.

Trickery and treachery of the blackest kind were employed. First an attempt was made to ruin the youth financially by imposing upon him the duty of rebuilding the great temple of Daibutsu at Kyoto. Four years were occupied in that task, and then, on its completion, a trifling detail was, without a particle of justice, made a cause of offence; despite every protestation of innocence that could be tendered, Iyeyasu was implacable. He ordered that the outer works of the castle should be destroyed; that Hideyori should leave it and reside in another province far from it; and that his mother should

remain in Yedo, under the direct eyes of Iyeyasu's own Government, as a hostage for her son's good behaviour.

These cruel terms were indignantly rejected. "Rather than accept them," declared the Lady Yodo, "will I and my son make this castle our death pillow." Iyeyasu lost no time. His armies were soon in motion and siege was laid to the castle. It proved to be a greater task than Iyeyasu, with all his generalship, anticipated. Twice his army was beaten back with heavy loss but, as so often in Japan, treachery succeeded where honest fighting failed, and after one of the most bloody struggles in Japanese history, the castle was set on fire from within and fell. The gallant young Hideyori, who had fought in person till the last moment, and his brave mother both perished in the flames —not a trace of either was ever found—and to make the extirpation of the family complete, a little child, the son of Hideyori, not by his wife, Iyeyasu's grand-daughter, but by a concubine, was ordered to instant execution as a common criminal. It is said that the boy was rescued from the burning castle by some common soldiers and hidden in a farm-house, and that when discovered and brought before Iyeyasu he showed the spirit of his grandfather and father and, to his face, taunted the old tyrant, now seventy-four years of age, with his treachery.

Every vestige not only of Hideyoshi's family but of his memory was now blotted out. It was on June 1, 1615, that Osaka fell. The battle of Seki-ga-Hara gave Iyeyasu the Government of the Empire; his own political measures and the fall of Osaka secured it to his descendants. But he only held the Shogunate in his own name for two years. He received his commission from the Emperor on March 28, 1603, and two years later he transferred it with the Emperor's approval to his son Hidetada (1605–1623), who became the second Shogun of the Tokugawa dynasty, and himself retired to his country estate at Shizuoka in the province of Suruga, 120 miles from the capital Yedo. The retirement was nominal. He found leisure for study and for the encouragement of literature, but he directed the Government from his country retreat as vigorously and as thoroughly as he had done in Yedo, and he laid the foundation of the great political system which gave profound peace to Japan after the long centuries of continuous civil war.

After Seki-ga-Hara, following the historical custom when a change of Government took place, there was a complete redistribution of fiefs. Those who fought for Iyeyasu were rewarded; the estates of those who opposed him were confiscated or heavily curtailed, and their former owners banished,

executed or reduced to comparative impotence or poverty. Formerly there were three classes of territorial nobles, Kokushu or lords of entire provinces, in several cases of more than one province; Riyoshu, lords of fiefs of less than one province in extent; and Joshu, lords of castle towns. These three classes constituted the Daimio, or Great Names, but those of the third class whose fiefs were assessed at less than 10,000 koku annually were described as Shomio—Small Names. They enjoyed, however, the social dignity of their more powerful and wealthy peers. Iyeyasu preserved the threefold division but added new descriptive titles. He vested his own sons with three of the largest and wealthiest fiefs, Owari, Kishiu and Mito, and directed that an heir to the Shogunate, in case of failure of the direct line of his successors, should be chosen from one of the three houses. They were, therefore, known as the Three Honourable Houses (Go-san-Ke) and took precedence of all the other feudatories who, while their old descriptions were not abolished, were now further classified generally as Fudai (hereditary nobles) and Tozama (outside nobles), the former being the territorial lords who pledged their fealty to Iyeyasu before the fall of Osaka, " all of whom, great and small, had shown the utmost fidelity, even suffering their bones to be ground to powder and their flesh to be chopped up " for him. From these the members of the Gorojiu, the cabinet of the Shogunate, were to be chosen, and their estates, " no matter how their posterity might offend, were never to be confiscated for anything short of actual treason." The Tozama were those nobles who submitted after the fall of Osaka. There were two other feudal classes, the Hatamoto or Bannermen and the Gokenin, who may be described as Yeomanry, who were not nobles but had the social status of gentlemen entitled to wear arms. The Hatamoto, who, at the Restoration, numbered some 80,000, were all vassals of the Tokugawa on whose fealty in either military or civil service absolute reliance could be placed and from among whom the Shogunate officials were mainly chosen. Many of them held considerable estates.

The fiefs were distributed in such a manner that the tried adherents of the Tokugawa were established in secure strategic positions, where they could dominate the great high roads and where they formed wedges between the Tozama who might be inclined to fret against the rule of the Tokugawa. The latter were also placed in districts remote both from Yedo and Kyoto, so that their influence could reach neither city, while their fiefs were largely reduced. At Yedo was the Shogun's Government,

exercising an exacting suzerainty over the whole Empire, though each feudatory had full powers of local legislation and administration. The great cities, Yedo, Osaka, Nagasaki and others, were under its direct control and entirely outside the jurisdiction of the fiefs.

Iyeyasu did not long survive his triumph at Osaka. He died in April 1616 at the age of seventy-five years. Every tourist to Japan knows his great burial-place at Nikko, where nature at her best and the highest artistic skill of Japan have combined to give him one of the most splendid mausoleums in the world; and there "Gongen Sama" is to this day worshipped daily by thousands of devout pilgrims. Iyeyasu was deified by an Imperial decree as To-Sho-Gu, Dai Gongen, that is the "Great Incarnation of the Temple of the Light of the East." Gongen is a general term to describe Shinto gods who are incarnations of Buddhas, who are found all over Japan, but Iyeyasu is Gongen Sama—the Lord Gongen—just as Hideyoshi enjoys the earthly title of Taiko Sama—the Lord Taiko, the two being the Gongen and the Taiko, who are above all others.

The system of government so ably organised by Iyeyasu was built on such solid foundations that it lasted for 252 years after his death. During the whole of this long period, the entire administrative authority of the Empire was conserved in the Tokugawa family, the Emperors continuing to be the same political nullities that they had been, almost without interruption, since the days of the Fujiwara domination. They continued to be the sole legal founts of honour and of all law, and to be revered as vicegerents on earth of the Gods in Heaven; but they lived in seclusion in their palaces in the sacred city of Kyoto, hardly more visible to their subjects than were the gods whom they represented, surrounded by a Court, every individual in which was proud of a lineage that was only less illustrious than that of the Emperor himself. All, both Emperor and courtiers, were dependent for their support upon doles granted with niggardly hands by the powerful and wealthy Shogunate, though, in this respect, the Tokugawas were more liberal than their predecessors in their high office, and the Court was never reduced to the degrading poverty by which it was blighted in the fifteenth century. But it was still frequently in a condition of acute financial embarrassment, and the courtiers were hard pressed to find the means of defraying the cost of the daily requirements of life.

Even in the city of Kyoto itself the authority of the Emperor was a mere shadow. There the Shogun was represented by an

official of his own entourage, known as the *Shoshidai*, who was in fact governor both of the city and the surrounding provinces, who administered the Imperial finances and acted as intermediary between the two Courts at Kyoto and Yedo, always keeping a watchful eye on everything that occurred in the former and always safeguarding the Shogun's interests. The Emperor's only functions were those of religious ceremonials; his only privileges the conferring of rank and honours and declaring the names and length of year-periods. None of the great territorial nobles were permitted access to Kyoto without the special licence of the Shoshidai, and the city was always garrisoned by the samurai of feudatories on whose fidelity the Shogunate could place the most implicit reliance. This restriction was all important in view of the theoretical prerogatives of the Emperor. It was by his commission that the Shogun was vested with legal authority, and every precaution had therefore to be taken to prevent him coming under the influence of any territorial noble who was not devoted to the Tokugawa interests.

At Yedo, Iyeyasu's great capital in the Eastern provinces, the Court of the Shogun was maintained, with every outward manifestation of wealth and splendour, in a great and imposing castle, with majestic walls and towers, surrounded by deep moats, within which his own dwelling-place, all glittering with gold, seemed to the Jesuits, fresh though they were from the splendours of Rome or Madrid, like an enchanted palace. "The Hall of Audience is sustained by great pillars finely gilt, and the ceiling is of pure gold richly enamelled with curious figures and landskips." He was guarded by thousands of armed knights, all willing to die at any hour in the service or at the will of their liege lord. When he went beyond his castle walls he was attended by a great and stately escort of courtiers and knights clad in bright silks. The streets were closed to traffic and cleared of everything that could offend his eyes. No fires could be lighted for two days previously lest the sky should be obscured; the upper windows of all houses were closed lest anyone should look down on him, and, as he passed by, all the people bent to the ground in deep reverence. His own private estates covered the eight provinces of the Kwanto, and he realised from them an income which it is not extravagant to compute at eight millions sterling at a time when money had tenfold its present purchasing power.

The city around the castle yearly grew in wealth, population, splendour, luxury and refinement. The third Tokugawa Shogun, Iyemitsu (1622–1651), the grandson of the founder and

almost his equal in ability and industry, initiated the custom under which all the feudatories of the Empire were required to spend alternate years in his capital and to leave their wives and families there as hostages when in their own fiefs. This custom was known as *Sankin Kotai*, alternate service in the capital, and it became the source of great accretions to the capital's wealth. The feudatories, all in their own fiefs grandees as autocratic as was the Shogun in his capital, vied with each other, when at the Court, in their display of all the emblems of wealth and power. They built splendid palaces and brought with them long trains of their own retainers, and they were lavish in their social entertainments and in their expenditures on Court and religious festivals.

Yedo was the home of art, literature and the drama, of everything that was cultured or sensuous in all three, for all three presented glaring contrasts of refined beauty and gross pornography in their expression. In all the attributes of luxurious life it in no way fell behind any of the greatest capitals of the world throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with its palaces, its parks, its temples, its streets thronged with silk-clad knights and courtiers and with stately processions of great lords, riding in gorgeous palanquins, with their trains and flowing banners, with a population prosperous, happy and contented, hardly less gaily dressed in their cottons than were the knights in their silks. Yedo, under Tsunayoshi, the fifth Tokugawa Shogun, was populous and prosperous, as splendid and luxurious as was contemporary Paris under Louis XIV. There were only two contrasts. In Yedo, there were no foul slums, haunts of criminals and vagabonds, within which no decent citizen could enter. In Paris, there were many of the foulest and most dangerous. In Paris, citizens of all the nations of the Western world and many also from the East mingled freely and abundantly with those born in France, and brought or sent to it the best of everything that their own countries could produce. In Yedo, none were seen who were not natives of the Land of the Gods, and all their requirements, the luxuries as well as the necessities of life, were almost exclusively furnished by their own countrymen.

There were in all fifteen Shoguns of the Tokugawa line, and during their régime thirteen Emperors and two Empresses sat upon the throne at Kyoto. The first four Shoguns and the eighth were worthy representatives of their illustrious ancestor, taking an active share in their Government and showing themselves vigorous and capable rulers. Tsunayoshi, the fifth

Shogun, was not without ability, but he was obsessed by an insane reverence for dogs, not founded, as was that of the last of the Hojo, five centuries previously, on admiration for their fighting qualities—but for their sanctity. He was born under the Zodiacal sign of the dog, which caused him to devote, in his later years, his main cares to their protection at the cost of infinite difficulty and distress to his people: so much so that he acquired in his lifetime the sobriquet of "Inu Kubo"—the dog sovereign—Kubo being even a higher title than Shogun, in that it was reserved exclusively for the Imperial House. Buddhism forbids the sacrifice of animal life, and its principles were always strictly observed in old Japan, but they were carried by Tsunayoshi to an extent hitherto unheard-of and applied to birds and fish, which until then had not been regarded as animals. With all his insanity in this single item, he was an accomplished scholar who encouraged the study both of Chinese and Japanese classical literature, and the period known as Genroku (1688–1704) in his reign is celebrated as that in which art, poetry and literature reached their highest level under the Tokugawas. In his later years, he became the victim of unworthy favourites who encouraged him in extravagance and licence, and the culmination of his degradation was reached when he intimated his intention of nominating as his heir a son born from the wife of one of his favourites and alleged to be his. To prevent that, he was murdered by his own wife, the Mi Daidokoro, the lady who controls the kitchen, who, having stabbed him, immediately turned the sword upon herself and followed him in death within a few minutes.

Yoshimune (1717–1744), the eighth Shogun, endeavoured by strict economy in administration and in his own mode of life —as an example to others he wore cotton garments in summer and hempen in winter—to repair the finances which had become straitened by the extravagance of his predecessors, and closely supervised all the departments of his Government, proving himself a capable and industrious ruler. Trade, industry, agriculture, the national currency as well as literature, law and art, all received and benefited by his attention. It was by him that the noble pine-trees, which are now such an ornament to the castle walls, were first planted, and modern Tokyo is also indebted to him for several of the parks in which the cherry-trees yearly display their glowing beauties in each recurring spring.

The decline of the Bakufu Government began to make serious progress after Yoshimune's death. The blight which has run

through all Japanese history fell upon the Tokugawas. As the Emperors had become self-indulgent *fainéants* under the Fujiwara; as the Fujiwara, in their turn, and after them the Hojo regents and the Ashikaga Shoguns, all met with the same fate, and from being capable and vigorous soldiers and statesmen degenerated into indolent and incapable voluptuaries, so now did the Tokugawa. They left the exercise of their constitutional rights and duties to their ministers and, withdrawing themselves from all direct contact with the people, they became recluses in their splendid Court at Yedo, scarcely less secluded than were the Emperors in their poverty-stricken palaces at Kyoto. The spirit of the Court began to be reflected in the nation. By the nation it is to be remembered is always meant the upper classes, the nobles and the samurai who alone constituted society, the general mass of the people being of no account. The stern code of the samurai which enjoined frugality, self-denial, and the constant practice of military exercises, fell into disuse and, instead, the accomplishments of dancing and music were cultivated, skill in either becoming a surer passport to advancement in the Court than capacity for either the military or civil services of the Crown. Money had always been an object of contempt to the samurai. Now it was eagerly sought by him. He learned to gamble, and his dignified carriage " was replaced by a mincing and meretricious mien," while the treasured sword, of which the finely-tempered blade, the triumph of the master-smiths of the Empire, was once the chief glory, now became a subject of artistic decoration, and its exterior ornaments rather than the efficiency of its blade its most valued attributes. One attempt was made to check the progress of national deterioration under the eleventh Shogun Iyenari (1786–1836), who, through his great Minister, Matsudaira Sadanobu, endeavoured to restore frugality by drastic sumptuary regulations, which extended to some of the smallest incidents in daily life; but his influence was of very short duration, and renewed extravagance quickly followed on the Minister's retirement.

The downfall of the Shogunate had begun, and its progress was accelerated by the revival of the study of the ancient national literature, which had been subordinated from the early years of the Heian period to that of the Chinese classics. Even the language in which it was written was no longer understood, so great had been the changes through which it had passed and, in itself, it required special study. The result of this study was that the dormant interest was aroused in the

Shintoist faith, which had been long obscured by Buddhism and Confucianism, just as the national literature had been clouded by the Chinese classics. Following on both revivals came renewed reverence for the Emperor and the conviction that the dual system of government was incompatible with the proper observance of that reverence. The new spirit grew slowly but surely. It received its first and main impetus from a school of native research that was founded at the capital of his fief by Mitsukuni, Lord of Mito, one of the greatest of the feudal barons who, on account of his own scholarship and his encouragement of learning in others, has been accorded the title of the Maecenas of Japan. He accumulated a great library and, gathering around him all the most erudite scholars in national literature, he produced with their aid the *Dai-Nihon-shi*—the "History of Great Japan," from the accession of Jimmu Tenno to the close of the reign of Go Komatsu, the ninety-ninth Emperor, who abdicated in 1412. The work was completed—it consists of 240 volumes—in 1715, but it could only be circulated secretly and in manuscript, and it was not printed till 1857.

Limited as must, therefore, have been the number of those who had the opportunity of reading or consulting it in its early days, it had a profound influence in the revival and spread of the true theory of the Constitution, handed down from the most remote antiquity, that the Emperor was the real Sovereign, to whom alone the allegiance of the nation was due, and that the Shoguns from Yoritomo, the originator of the dignity, down to the latest of the Tokugawa, no matter how noble had been their families or origin, were mere usurpers who had, by force, assumed the authority that was rightly the prerogative of the Emperor.

The work was rendered the more remarkable by its source. Mitsukuni was himself a member of the Tokugawa family, the grandson of its great founder, Iyeyasu, and the head of one of the Go-san-Ke houses. The eagle furnished the feather for the arrow which was destined to pierce its own breast. The circulation of the *Dai-Nihon-shi* was the first incentive in undermining the strong foundations on which rested the whole fabric of the Tokugawa domination. The study of the national literature continued, though the Bakufu endeavoured to repress it, and its inevitable corollary was the nurture of loyalty to the Sovereign, "the Immovable Ruler who must endure to the end of time, as long as the sun and moon continue to shine," in implicit obedience to whom all duty lies.

The *Dai-Nihon-shi* was followed, one hundred years later, by the *Nihon Guaishi*—"The External History of Japan." In this new work, the history of the Shogunate was told from its foundation by Yoritomo, at the close of the twelfth century, down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Iyeyasu firmly established himself in the great office; and it gave a new stimulus to the propagandism that had been begun by the first work.

It was seen that, great as were the power and dignity of the Tokugawa family and distinguished as it was by its descent from the Minamoto, who in their turn claimed an Imperial ancestry, its chiefs were only territorial nobles, differing from all the other feudatories solely in the fact that the great personality and overwhelming military and political genius of their head had gathered around them a larger following of adherents and enabled them to acquire estates of far greater wealth and extent than any of the others. But they were only *primi inter pares*. In lineage, in rank, in constitutional rights, they were no better than the lords of Satsuma or Choshiu, both great fiefs, but small as compared with that of the Tokugawa to whom both were obliged to render homage. There was no friendship between the two, but they had a common bond in their mutual hatred of the Tokugawa, a hatred that was now being mingled with contempt in view of the apparent degeneracy of the Shogun. The two works that have been described were in the course of time eagerly though secretly read by the military classes throughout the country, and they had their effect in bringing other great feudatories into sympathy with those of Satsuma and Choshiu. The spirit of unrest was in the air, and only a favourable opportunity and a rallying cry that would appeal to the armed classes of the nation were necessary to turn it into an active movement. Both opportunity and cry were furnished by the arrival of the representatives of the great nations of the West and their demand that Japan, from which they had been excluded for 230 years, should be opened to them.

CHAPTER XI

EARLY EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE

THE name of Japan was first made known in Europe when Marco Polo, the great Venetian traveller, wrote a description of the Court of Kublai Khan, at which he resided, together with his father and uncle, for nearly twenty-five years in the second half of the thirteenth century. They all returned to Venice in 1295, and three years later Marco Polo issued his book. In it, he incidentally referred to a country called Zipangu, of which he had heard much though he had never seen it. For nearly 200 years his book was lost, but it was found again, and printed copies came into circulation in the fifteenth century and were eagerly read. The discovery of a sea-route to the countries described in it, Cathay and Zipangu, both rich in everything that could tempt the cupidity of Europeans, was the object of Columbus's first great voyage. The American continent, of which he had no knowledge when he sailed, interfered with the realisation of his hopes, and it was not till 1542, fifty years later, that the first Europeans landed in Japan. The Cape of Good Hope had been discovered in the meantime, and the Portuguese, then the most enterprising navigators in the world, used the new route to establish a great shipping trade with the Far East. Three adventurers, while on a voyage from Siam to China as passengers in a Chinese junk, were driven out of their course and took refuge in the harbour of an outlying island in the south of Japan. They were received with all kindness, and their necessities were relieved so as to enable them to continue their voyage. In return for this hospitality, they presented the local governor with an arquebus. This was the first occasion on which firearms were seen in Japan; but the gift was used as a pattern by the native blacksmiths so successfully that within a few years arquebuses were in common use.

In 1545 Mendez Pinto, a Portuguese merchant, made an

experimental trading visit, also in a Chinese junk, and his welcome was so sincere and his profits so large, that he was soon followed by many more of his countrymen, and a regular trade, of which Nagasaki became the headquarters, was founded between Portugal's Eastern colonies and Japan. Spaniards soon began to share in it and, Spain and Portugal having been united under one Crown in 1580, both continued to enjoy their profitable monopoly until the dawn of the seventeenth century. Then the Dutch appeared upon the scene and, in 1609, established a factory at Hirado, an island on the west coast of Kiusiu. They hated both Spaniards and Portuguese, not only as trade rivals but with all the worst bitterness that can be engendered by religious and political antagonism, and from the first made it their object to oust them by any means, fair or foul, some of their expedients being very foul indeed. They succeeded in their object, though the struggle was a long one. The last Spaniards and Portuguese were finally banished from Japan in 1639, and thenceforward the Dutch enjoyed an exclusive monopoly of the very limited trade which Japan had with Europe until a new era dawned in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Portuguese and Spanish traders had been quickly followed by missionaries of the Catholic Church, prominent among them being the great Jesuit, Francis Xavier, the most distinguished and successful apostle of Christ since St. Paul; and their proselytising efforts, carried on with fearless zeal and unrelaxing industry, were rewarded by an immense number of converts, gathered not only from the lower classes who, in our own day, furnish the largest ratio of missionary recruits, but from both the noble and rich, from scholars and statesmen, even from the Court and the Buddhist priesthood. Within little more than fifty years from St. Xavier's landing there were over one million converts, whose sincerity was afterwards fully proved by their sacrifices and sufferings for their faith. A mission of youths of noble birth was despatched to the Pope and received with the very highest honour by Gregory XIII; and Valignani, a priest accredited by the Pope as ambassador, was in turn received with equal honour by Hideyoshi, then at the summit of his power.

"He was lodged in a palace at Kyoto, formerly occupied by Hideyoshi himself: a high officer of the Court was sent to conduct him to the audience, and carriages and richly-caparisoned horses were provided for himself and his retinue. In the Hall of Audience, Hideyoshi, clad in gold brocade, all shining with pearls, was seated on a high throne, over which there was a rich canopy, hung with the best tapestry of China, and the whole hall

was lined by all the grand officers of State. The walls and wainscots were inlaid with gold, wrought in curious figures of birds and flowers."

The priestly ambassador's retinue and entourage were hardly less splendid. They were most cordially received, and all seemed to herald the fairest prospects for the future of the Church. Hideyoshi had even hinted that he himself would become a Christian if the rules of the Faith did not involve the dissolution of his seraglio, in which he maintained 300 women, and the abandonment of indiscriminate indulgence, wherever he happened to be, in his most distinctive frailty. But a change was soon to come. Hideyoshi's favour was short-lived. He saw that Christianity, if widely spread through the nation, might be an insuperable obstacle to the attainment of his all-absorbing ambition to be enrolled in the pantheon of national heroes after his death, and to have temples raised in his honour. It was said, too, that he was angered by the indignant refusal of some of the Christian ladies to yield to his overtures, while on the other hand he was equally offended by the dissolute conduct of Portuguese merchants and sailors in Japan, so entirely at variance with the faith they professed.

Further incentive was furnished by an incident which appealed to his prudence as a statesman. A Spanish galleon, with a rich cargo, was driven out of her course while on a voyage from Manila to Acapulco and took refuge in a Japanese port. Hideyoshi proposed to confiscate her as a derelict, and the master, finding protests useless against such an outrage on a ship in distress belonging to a friendly nation, endeavoured to intimidate him by telling him of the greatness of Spain and showing him on a map how much of the world was under the Spanish Crown. Being asked how all these lands had been acquired, he answered :

" It is by the help of missioners who are sent to all parts of the world to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for as soon as these Religious had gained a sufficient number of Proselytes, the King followed with his troops and, joining the new converts, made a conquest of the Kingdoms."

The missionaries themselves were far from blameless. The Portuguese Jesuits had been followed by Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans, and there was considerable rivalry between the Portuguese and Spanish orders. The latter displayed all the zeal and little or none of the prudence of the former. They refused to observe, as the Jesuits had done, Hideyoshi's decrees against public preaching, a limit which he had sternly imposed, and the Spaniards also gave offence by arrogantly asserting their claims to similar personal deference in public to that which

they were entitled to receive in their own country. Be the reasons what they may, and all that have just been quoted had no doubt their share, Hideyoshi's favour was suddenly converted into bitter antagonism, and a persecution of Christians was begun in 1587, which continued, with a short interlude after Hideyoshi's death, till 1638, when the open profession of Christianity in Japan was finally exterminated. Its first tragic incident was the crucifixion in 1597 of nine priests and sixteen native converts at Nagasaki. Then Hideyoshi died and the respite came, and such new successes were achieved that the missionaries—

"were transported out of themselves to see God so prosper in their labours. Their Church was like the earth in spring-time, flourishing with virtue and perfuming the country with the sweet odour of its sanctity."

This only lasted while Iyeyasu was consolidating his own Government. He tolerated the practice of Christianity while fully occupied with the overthrow of his enemies; but he was an ardent Buddhist, little inclined to countenance a new faith which threatened to subvert his own, when it was in his power to suppress it. Certain incidents, too, occurred which stirred his anger. One of them involved the total destruction, after a fierce resistance, of a Portuguese ship at Nagasaki, between whose crew and some Japanese a fracas had occurred on shore. He was also encouraged in all his suppressive measures by both the Dutch and the English, who by this time had appeared in Japan, and who, while cordially hating each other, both hated the Portuguese and Spaniards still more.

A series of edicts, the first of which appeared in 1612, was issued ordering all foreign missionaries to leave Japan, all converts to abjure their new faith, and all churches to be destroyed. Christians were banished from the Court and some were put to death, mostly by burning; but it was not till Iyeyasu was dead that the persecution attained its full force under his son and successor Hidetada (1605–1623). Then, and also under the third Shogun, Iyemitsu (1623–1651), it outrivalled in its extent, its completeness and in its hideously revolting cruelty all the worst deeds of Nero. The full story has been told by the present author elsewhere[1] and he does not propose to recapitulate its horrors in this volume. Torture was always practised in Japan, from the earliest days in its history, as it was in all Christian nations, England included, but its full significance as a judicial weapon was one of the items of Chinese civilisation that were

[1] *The Story of Old Japan*, chaps. xiii-xiv.

assimilated by Japan in the sixth and seventh centuries and, like many other items, the skill of the teacher, high though it was, was surpassed by that of the learners, and torture was a fine art in Japan. Roasting to death or broiling on huge wooden gridirons, over slow fires, of parents in the presence of their children, or of young children in the presence of their parents, was far from being the most severe form adopted against Christians, and new tortures were devised and mercilessly continued until the end, when not a Christian was left who openly acknowledged his faith. Foreign priests and native converts, of all degrees in life, of both sexes and of every age, all went cheerfully and unhesitatingly to their doom. There were, of course, cases of apostasy. It was not in human nature that there should not be when the alternative was so horrible, but they were lost among the multitudes who stood firm. It is one of the saddest chapters in human history, but also one of the grandest in its manifestation of human courage and endurance in their most noble aspects.

The story of Christianity closed, not to be reopened for more than 200 years. Christians survived among the lowest and poorest classes, but they were priestless and leaderless, and none dared profess the faith in public. And yet they clung to it through all the dark years that followed ; and when Catholic missionaries again came to Japan, this time secure in the protection of their own treaties and laws, they found hundreds of the humblest peasants and miners who still, in secret, entirely unsuspected by either the authorities or their neighbours, celebrated the services of the Church to the best of their simple knowledge.

In the year 1637, Iyemitsu issued his famous edict under which Europeans were forbidden for ever to land in Japan, and Japanese equally forbidden to leave the shores of their own islands ; in both cases under the penalty of death. Japanese were also forbidden to build any ship of over 50 tons burthen, and, from the day on which this prohibition was issued, their maritime enterprise was gone and the national isolation was complete. Throughout all the Middle Ages the Japanese had shown themselves bold and adventurous sailors, both as traders and pirates, who had made their way not only to China and Siam, but across the Pacific to Mexico. Henceforward they never lost sight of their own shores, and their ships became the most uneconomic that floated on any seas. Formerly they had welcomed, whole-heartedly, Europeans to their harbours and accorded them many privileges. Now Europeans, as the professors of the

"Evil Sect" which had brought such misery to the people, were rigorously excluded, and Japan proceeded on her own way, working out her own destinies, apart from all the rest of the world.

One insignificant exception was made with contemptuous degradation to its beneficiaries. The Dutch had contributed their aid in the extermination of the Christians especially by helping with their artillery to batter the walls of Shimabara, a fortress on the coast in which the Christians made a last despairing stand, and they had to be rewarded for their ignoble services. The Japanese had been glad to profit by their help, but they knew the Dutch had given that help against persons who believed in the same God, though they might be of different sects; and, as loyal gentlemen have ever done, they despised the renegade traitors who had bartered their honour for commercial privileges. It took two years from the issue of Iyemitsu's edict before all the Portuguese and Spaniards could be cleared out of Japan, both traders and missionaries. The Dutch had still their splendid and prosperous factory at Hirado, and they fondly hoped that their privileges would be greater and more prosperous than ever. They quickly had a rude awakening. They were ordered to level their factory to the ground and to move with all their belongings to the little artificial island of Desima, in the harbour of Nagasaki, only three acres in area, and there, surrounded by high fences, to carry on their trade in what became a rigorous prison, beyond whose limits they were never permitted to stir. Their trade was profitable, but it was paid for by servitude more ignoble than that of the Jews in Christian Europe in the most intolerant periods of the Middle Ages. The practice and every visible symbol of their religion was rigorously interdicted. It has been alleged they were even compelled to undergo the ordeal of trampling upon the cross, as all Japanese were compelled to do at stated intervals, in order to show their abjuration of the hated doctrine; and before their ships arrived in port everything on board, Bibles, books, coins, anything that bore the semblance of a cross or that in any way indicated Christianity, had to be carefully hidden away in the lowest depths of the hold.

The East India Company of England sent the *Clove*, one of the fleet of three ships fitted out for the company's eighth voyage to the Indies, on to Japan, and she arrived at Hirado on June 11, 1613. Prior to her coming, an Englishman had already landed, whose story forms a vivid romance of the sea. This was Will Adams, a seaman, whose own letters and career show

him to have been a man of strong character and good parts, educated far beyond the average of his countrymen of his day. He was born near Rochester in Kent, served twelve years in ships of the Navy and of

> " the Worshipful Company of the Barbary merchants until the Indish traffic from Holland, in which Indish traffic he was desirous to make a little experience of the little knowledge God had given him." (*Letters of Adams.*)

So in July of 1598 he sailed from the Texel as pilot-master of *De Leeuw*, the flagship of a fleet of five vessels " made ready by the Indish Company to trade with Spanish America." He was destined never to see his own land again. It was resolved to continue the voyage from the Straits of Magellan to Japan, where " Dick Gerrilson, one of the crew who had been there with the Portugals," told them there was a good market for woollen cloth. It was a tedious and dangerous voyage over the great unknown waters of the wide Pacific, and it was six months after they left Magellan that the only surviving ship of the fleet, that in which Adams was serving, sighted the shores of Japan. Only twenty-three men of her original crew of 110 were left, and of the twenty-three only five, of whom Adams was one, were capable of carrying on their work, so terrible had been the effects of scurvy. The ship was towed into the harbour of Funai on the coast of Bungo, and thence Adams, though he and all his fellows had been denounced as pirates by the Jesuit priests, was summoned to Yedo, where he won such favour from the great Iyeyasu that he was never permitted to leave Japan. He was employed as master-ship-builder and as a teacher of mathematics and astronomy. Every kindness was shown to him. A wife and an estate were given to him, but all his entreaties to be allowed to return to his own land were in vain, and after twenty years of exile he died in Japan on May 6, 1620. So highly was he esteemed that a street in Yedo was named after him, and retains its name, Anjin Cho—Pilot Street—to this day.

Adams acted as an intermediary between Iyeyasu, on the one side, and Saris, the master, and Cocks, the master merchant, of the *Clove*, on the other, and procured a charter by which they, too, were enabled to start a factory at Hirado in rivalry of the Dutch; but even with everything in its favour, with privileges far beyond any that had ever been accorded either to Portuguese, Spaniards or Dutch, all won for it by the bluff old sailor, who had first landed in Japan broken both in health

and means, it was a failure. Both Saris and Cocks showed themselves wanting in tact, judgment and enterprise. They were quite unable to compete with the Dutch, who had already acquired some commercial experience of Japan; their ships fought with the Dutch while on the high seas, and their crews whenever they met on shore; and finally the factory was closed after an inglorious career of only six years, during which it suffered aggregate losses that have been variously estimated from £7,000 to £40,000.

For over 200 years from the time when the Dutch were first immured in their prison at Desima, Japan's foreign history is a blank. The Dutch ships, at first five or six, afterwards limited to one, made their annual voyages to Nagasaki with immense profits to their owners, the great trading company of the Netherlands, and at long intervals ships of other nationalities appeared off the coasts, only to meet with peremptory refusals to all their overtures for friendly intercourse. Japan, through all these long years, haughtily maintained her rigid seclusion from all the world. She knew nothing of what was occurring beyond her own coasts except what she heard from the Dutch, and that was carefully limited and toned down so that nothing was permitted to reach her which could in any sense be derogatory to her own overweening pride. All her requirements were supplied within her own borders. She enjoyed absolute domestic peace and was secured against foreign aggression both by the valour of her sons and by the storm-swept seas which surrounded her islands.

There was another side to the picture. While all the other great nations of the world were making giant strides in all the elements of material and moral civilisation, in military and economic science, all stimulated by international rivalry and each one absorbing all that its rivals could teach it, Japan stood still. As she was in 1636, when Iyemitsu closed her ports, so was she in 1859, when they were once more opened to the world, without change in thought, industry, science, or in any of the other factors which make the sum of human happiness and prosperity. She had also suffered directly from her seclusion. Self-supplying in all the necessaries of life though she was, there were years of famine when the crops failed from drought or other natural causes. During one century and a half, between 1690 and 1840, there were twenty-two famines, of which eleven were very destructive. In some villages in 1783 not a single house was inhabited, but bones and skulls were scattered in all the houses and by the

roadside. The bodies of those who died were eaten, and a gruesome story is told of a father who wished to kill his dying son for food but could not raise the sword against him. So he asked a neighbour's help. The neighbour consented on the condition that he received half the body; but when he had completed his part of the bargain, the father who stood by at once killed him, and so at one stroke avenged his son and obtained a double quantity of the dreadful food. And all the time that the country was going through these agonies, the rice-harvests of Korea, China and Siam were of overflowing abundance, and their produce knocking, as it were, at the gates of Japan and clamouring for access to the starving people.

From her seclusion Japan was rudely awakened in 1853. Judging all Europeans by those of whom alone she had any direct experience, the sordid and degraded Dutch traders, traitors to their religion and subservient helots to the people in whose country they were living, they had learned, apart from the hatred bequeathed from the sufferings of the Christian persecutions, to despise all foreigners, and to regard them as barbarians unfit for admission to the land of the gods—nay more, whose very presence in it would be sacrilege. Nowhere were these sentiments more pronounced than in the Court at Kyoto, under the Emperor Komei (1847–1867), a sovereign of stronger character than his recent predecessors and saturated with conservative prejudice. Some ineffectual attempts had been made during the first half of the nineteenth century to initiate intercourse with the haughty islanders, especially by Russians and Americans, but all had been repulsed with scorn.

The growing commercial interests of the United States on the Pacific and the risk of ill-treatment of the crews of ships that might be wrecked on the coasts of Japan, at last determined the United States to put an end to this rigid seclusion and to induce Japan to enter into the comity of nations by persuasion, if possible; if not, by force. The mission was entrusted to Commodore Perry, who, with a powerful fleet, appeared in the Gulf of Yedo on July 8, 1853. On this occasion he contented himself with delivering a letter, stating the object of his visit; but he again appeared on February 13 in the following year with a still larger fleet, fully prepared to take no denial. He was accredited to "The August Sovereign of Japan," meaning thereby the Shogun, who was thought to be the *de jure* as well as the *de facto* Sovereign, and it was with his Government that Perry, in the first place, and five years later, Lord Elgin and the American Envoy, Townsend Harris, both skilled diplomatists

of the very front rank, exclusively dealt. The Emperor was a myth in their eyes, some shadowy ecclesiastical personage, buried in the seclusion of an insular Mecca, sacred perhaps, but a nullity in active government. The Shogun knew that he was powerless before the great guns of Perry's formidable fleet. He knew also that it was hopeless to appeal to the reactionary Emperor at Kyoto for his sanction to the concessions which Perry demanded, and it was only the Emperor's sanction that could legalise so great a departure from customs which had endured for nearly three centuries. His Government assumed, therefore, the responsibility of disregarding the obligations of law and custom, and his ministers signed treaties at first with the United States, and later with Great Britain, France, Holland and Russia. These treaties came into full force in 1859, when three ports, Yokohama, Nagasaki and Hakodate, became open to foreign trade and residence; and the long sleep of Japan was over.

CHAPTER XII

THE RESTORATION

THE opportunity of harassing his Government that the Shogun afforded by what was held to be his treachery to the Divine Land in admitting Western barbarians within its sacred limits, was eagerly seized by the disgruntled feudatories. The cry was raised throughout the Empire "Son-O Jo-i"—"Honour the Emperor and expel the barbarians"—and, with all sympathy from the Imperial Court, active hostilities were initiated against the Shogun's Government, the principal factors among his enemies being the Satsuma and Choshiu clans. His ministers were, indeed, in a lamentable position of twofold anxiety and danger. On the one hand were the European Powers, in profound ignorance of the history, laws, constitution and current domestic politics of Japan, clamouring for the strict fulfilment of the treaties which had been signed under duress and which the ministers knew well they were utterly impotent to enforce; on the other, the Court, to which their master owed theoretically the most implicit obedience, and the great feudatories, many of whom were in arms against him, still more loudly clamouring for the entire abrogation of the treaties, the expulsion of the foreigners and the resumption of the national isolation. It was a cruel plight. A political and military struggle followed, bitterly fought out during the succeeding nine years, and it culminated in the complete overthrow of the powerful Government which had been absolute for nearly 260 years.

The Shogun's enemies fully realised his difficulties with the European Powers, and they resolved to use them as a lever for his discomfiture. Several murders occurred of individual Europeans, committed by Ronin—"Wave men,"—that is, feudal retainers who had been released or had absconded from the service of their lords and who, wandering at large, considered that they were discharging the highest duties of patriotism when they ruthlessly cut down one of the hated

barbarians with the terrible swords, in the use of which they were past masters. As Ronin their acts involved their former lords in no responsibility. Twice the British Legation in the capital was attacked by bands of fanatics with the object of murdering all the inmates, some of whom were killed though the attacks were beaten off by the combined English and Japanese guards. It will seem strange to those who only know Japan as she is now, a powerful and autonomous Empire, at least the equal as a great Power of Great Britain, to learn that only sixty years ago such were her internal conditions, so incapable was her Government of securing safety to Europeans living within her borders, that not only was it considered necessary by the diplomatic representatives to maintain armed guards of their own countrymen at their Legations in the capital, but that a strong garrison of British troops, complete in every military detail except cavalry, and another smaller but highly efficient corps of French Infanterie de la Marine, were quartered at Yokohama until so late as the year 1874 for the protection of the European settlement against a possible organised attack of the Ronin outlaws. Looking back now on that time, it seems as if these garrisons were maintained much longer than was necessary; but that they were originally a prudent and justifiable precaution there cannot be a particle of doubt.

It was not only Europeans who were murdered. Several of the Shogun's own ministers also fell victims to the swords of the assassins, the most prominent among them being the Premier, Ii Naosuke, Kamon no Kami, lord of the great fief of Hikone, the feudal head of a wealthy clan and a hereditary leader in the inner cabinet of the Shogun's Ministry. He was a man of strong character, of dauntless courage, and a capable and far-seeing statesman, an exception to the rule which generally made the feudatories mere tools in the hands of their own retainers just as were the decadent Shoguns in the hands of their ministers. He had taken the lead in assuming the responsibility of signing the treaties, seeing that the obstinacy of the Court, of many even in the Shogun's Court, and of all his own peers amongst the territorial aristocracy, must give way before the threats of the barbarians. On the morning of March 24, 1860, he was on the way to a Court reception. His usual escort of devoted and trusted vassals accompanied his palanquin, but snow was falling heavily and all wore the ordinary raincoats of straw outside their ceremonial dress, so that ready access could not be had to their swords. They were

surprised by a larger band of samurai, and when they recovered from their first surprise they found the headless corpse of their lord in the palanquin. His death was a serious loss both to his own master, the Shogun, and to his country, but its consequences were not so marked as those which followed the murder of an English merchant two years later.

All the feudatories, when proceeding to or from the capital, travelled with armed escorts of their retainers and with a retinue of servants proportioned to their means, with banners and other outward symbols of their rank and dignity. None was greater than Shimazu Saburo, father and guardian of the Lord of Satsuma, who, on a day in September 1862, left the capital to begin the long overland journey back to his own fief, far away in the extreme south. He was attended by an escort of 800 of the samurai of his clan. Custom required that everyone meeting such a procession on the Tokaido, the great high road along the eastern coast, should give way and stand aside, dismounting if on horseback, till the procession passed. Unfortunately, a small riding-party, consisting of one woman and three men, all British subjects, did not dismount, though they drew their horses to the side of the road ; whereupon some of the samurai, in their indignation at this affront to their lord when travelling in full state, drew their swords and attacked the riding-party. One of these fell dead upon the road, while the rest took to instant flight at the utmost speed of their horses. Reparation was demanded—but in vain. The writ of the Shogunate did not run in Satsuma, and when the haughty chief was asked to surrender the murderer, he contemptuously replied : " The English insulted me, and for so doing were simply punished by my escort. If they desire to get hold of me, let it be decided by an appeal to arms." The challenge was accepted. On August 13, 1863, a British fleet of seven ships of war bombarded Kagoshima, the capital town of the fief, inflicting great damage on the town and destroying the shipping that was anchored in front of it. The fleet came off by no means scatheless itself, and as it had to withdraw in consequence of a heavy gale that sprang up, abandoning the anchors, while the forts were still firing, the Japanese have always considered the affair as a victory for themselves.

A year later, Satsuma's brother feudatory, Choshiu, was also to experience the armed naval strength not only of Great Britain but of the Treaty Powers, France, Holland and the United States, all acting in unison. Choshiu's fief lay along the north-western shores of the Inland Sea, one of the most pictur-

esque inland stretches of water in the world, the direct route for all shipping proceeding from eastern Japan and from California to Shanghai and North China. Choshiu's forts commanded the Straits of Shimonoseki, its western exit, and both he and the councillors of his fief were in close sympathy with the bigoted Court at Kyoto in its hatred of the foreign barbarians and of the Shogunate. They endeavoured to close the Straits against the passage through them of foreign ships, and by so doing to gratify at once both their own prejudices and their desire to embroil the Shogunate with new difficulties with the foreign Powers. A Dutch corvette, a French gunboat, and a United States merchant ship were fired upon, and, as the feudatory's truculence became a public nuisance as well as a gross violation of the treaty privileges of Europeans, it had to be stopped. The Shogunate professed itself powerless in the matter, and the remedy could therefore only be obtained by despatching a strong fleet of the allied Powers to the scene and destroying the forts. This was done. The naval and military operations extended from September 5 to 8, 1864, and the feudatory, at last yielding to force which he reluctantly recognised as irresistible, submitted unconditionally to all the demands that were made upon him; and there was no further interruption to the passage of the Straits. His submission was only to the foreigners, not to his own *de facto* Government which he had contemptuously flouted. Against it he continued active hostilities till its fall four years later.

Two incidents connected with this event merit special notice. In 1863 five youths of the fief, all young samurai who had given evidence of character and ability, but had no other credentials to distinguish them from the thousands of their fellows who received their meagre allowances of rice from their lord, smuggled themselves out of Japan, with the assistance of certain English merchants, and proceeded to England for purposes of study and investigation. There is no doubt that their feudal lord secretly countenanced what they did and assisted them financially, but Iyemitsu's drastic laws against leaving Japan for foreign countries were still in force, and not only the five youths but everyone who helped them risked thereby the penalty of death or at least of lifelong imprisonment. All these youths afterwards rose to high official rank and two of them became the statesmen who were known as Prince Ito and Marquis Inouye, both of whom played a great part in the regeneration of Japan, the first at least of whom is worthy to take his stand, as one of the great construc-

tive statesmen of the nineteenth century, on the same platform as Lincoln or Cavour.

While pursuing their studies in England, they read one morning in *The Times* a description of the militant policy of their lord and of the punishment that was being prepared for him. Both had now learned to appreciate the military strength of Western Powers, and they at once realised the penalty of suffering which would have to be paid by the fief for the mad fatuousness of its ruler. They returned to Japan in all haste, in the hope of persuading him of his folly by telling him of what they had seen and learned, and they were carried from Yokohama to Shimonoseki by a British man-of-war, in advance of the expedition, in order that every chance might be given both to them and to their chief. Their efforts were in vain. The bombardment took place, and both nearly met their deaths at the hands of their infuriated fellow-clansmen, who regarded both as traitors to their country and their clan. Inouye bore till his death the marks of the sword-wounds he received, while Ito was saved by a young maid-servant of the inn in which he was lodging, who effectively concealed him from the gang of his would-be murderers. Ito was preserved to become Prime Minister, and the young maid-servant to become the Princess Ito, a courteous and stately lady who, when at the summit of her dignity, was loved and honoured not only by her own countrymen but by all Europeans who were privileged to know her.

The second incident to which we have referred was of an entirely different nature, a question of international politics.

The objects of the Powers at Shimonoseki were accomplished, and had the matter terminated at this stage, not a vestige of a stain would have been left behind. But, in addition to his other undertakings, the lord of Choshiu also promised that he would pay both a ransom for his town, which had been spared in the bombardment, and the expenses of the expedition. For reasons which it is now difficult to fathom, this obligation was transferred by the diplomatic representatives of the Powers to the Shogun's Government, which was called upon, when distracted by internal difficulties, with a depleted treasury, to pay an indemnity of $3,000,000 (£750,000), a very large sum for the Japan of those days. Time was given for the payment. The last instalment, indeed, was only finally paid by the Mikado's Government in 1875, long after that of the Shogun had ceased to exist and the Choshiu fief had lost all its independence and been merged in the Empire; but this indulgence was, while it lasted, used as a thumb-screw for extorting diplo-

matic concessions from the Government of Japan, both that of the Shogun and of the Mikado, while the final exaction of the full terms of the bond, under all its circumstances at the time, cannot now, in the cold light of history, be viewed otherwise than as an act of almost unparalleled meanness and malignancy—still worse, in Western bureaucratic eyes, as a diplomatic blunder of the first magnitude. It is one that has never been forgotten by the Japanese.

The position of the United States Government in the matter was somewhat different from that of other Powers. The bombardment took place while the American Civil War was still in progress and the *Alabama* on the high seas. The United States Navy had therefore other occupations in abundance than that of vindicating the rights of the flag against a small section of an insignificant and little-known people in the Far East, and at Shimonoseki the Stars and Stripes were only represented by a chartered merchant-steamer manned by a score of blue-jackets. America therefore incurred no expense in the expedition, while that incurred by the three other Powers, England, whose fleet was more than double the strength of all the others combined, above all, was considerable. It was proposed by the French that the indemnity should be divided *pro rata* to the expenses incurred by each of the four Powers. To this the United States took exception. They argued that moral unanimity among the Western Powers was a more influential factor in Japanese politics than military strength, and the indemnity should therefore be divided equally among all the Powers who took part in the operations, entirely irrespective of the relative military strength of each. This course involved a substantial sacrifice by Great Britain, but gave to the other three equally substantial advantages. Great Britain, however, assented to it, and the money was equally divided, the Americans, who had spent practically nothing, receiving $750,000, as did Great Britain, who had probably spent twice that amount in the common service of all.

But this ill-gotten money, tainted alike in its source and in its division, lay heavily on the American conscience. It was placed in the Treasury, where it remained till 1883, when it had nearly doubled itself with accumulated compound interest. Then it was returned to Japan, but even then the restitution was incomplete and the accumulated interest was retained. In making the restitution, the United States entirely forgot the principle on which she had originally claimed her share. The moral unanimity of the Western Powers no longer counted

as a political factor in her eyes. She neither consulted nor informed her former allies of her intention, and her generosity may be said to have been at the expense of England, to whom a large part of the restored money should have originally gone. That fact was entirely forgotten, and in later years many invidious comparisons were made in Japan between England's selfish greed in retaining the indemnity and America's noble magnanimity in returning it. Insignificant though the step was, none on the part of foreign Powers ever had greater influence in Japan. It conveyed a strong belief in the magnanimity and justness of the United States people, which made them for nearly a quarter of a century subsequently the most popular and respected of all foreigners and evolved a spirit of gratitude and respect which neither the abolition of extra-territoriality nor the alliance won for England.

The Satsuma and Choshiu incidents exercised the utmost influence on the subsequent history of Japan. They convinced, firstly, the two most powerful territorial nobles in the Empire, the two who, next to the Imperial Court, were the most implacable enemies to foreign intercourse, and, secondly, the Japanese people at large, that the project of expelling foreigners by force was hopeless; that the material resources of Western civilisation were far above those which Japan possessed herself, and that she must acquire full knowledge of foreign military methods and weapons to protect, and an equal knowledge of industrial methods to enrich, herself. Finally, they even brought the Imperial Court to reason, and on October 23, 1865, little more than a year after the Shimonoseki incident, the Emperor was at last induced to overcome his bigotry and give his assent to the Treaties: which he did in a very curt decree addressed to the Shogun—"The Imperial consent is given to the Treaties, and you will therefore undertake the necessary arrangements therewith." The lesson was given to Japan primarily by England, not in the way in which it is desirable that lessons should be given, but in the only one that was then possible, and whatever loss of life or property Japan then suffered was repaid tenfold by the advantage gained by the nation in being effectively, if sharply, taught its own impotence. Nothing but actual experience could have taught that lesson, and the most calm and dispassionate consideration of all its incidents, viewed in the bright light which has been thrown upon them by subsequent investigation, only intensifies the belief that severity at the time was not only politic and necessary, but in the very best interests of Japan herself.

Civil war continued for three more years, and then the Shogun, defeated at all points, worn out by all the humiliations he had undergone, his military power broken, patriotically recognising that national unity and a strong centralised Government were necessary for the national salvation in the new conditions in which Japan now found herself, surrendered to the Emperor the supreme executive authority which had been held by his own family for 260 years. The surrender was accepted by the Emperor, and so the dual system of Government under which Japan had lived for nearly seven hundred years was ended. This occurred in November 1867; but while the Shogun made this great sacrifice, his adherents were not so complaisant, and the close of all hostilities was not reached till August 1869. The last struggle was at Hakodate, then the chief port of the northern island of Yezo, now called Hokkaido, which was still almost a *terra incognita* not only to the newly-established Government of the Emperor but to the nation at large. There a section of the former retainers of the Shogun, who were now rebels both against him as their feudal lord and their legitimate sovereign, entrenched themselves and for over six months held at bay all the forces, both naval and military, that the Imperial Government could send against them, enduring the privations of a long siege and fighting both on land and sea several actions that well merited the description of heroic. The sailors in the rebel fleet, some of whom had been trained by English officers, showed that their old maritime spirit had not been entirely destroyed, and gave promise of the high degree of courage and naval skill which was so strikingly manifested, thirty-five years later, in the war with Russia.

The Japanese had just then awakened to the fact that it was not consistent with the principles of modern civilisation to put prisoners of war to death. All the surrendered rebels expected this fate, but all were spared, though not till they had undergone over a year's rigorous imprisonment. The Government had a full reward for its mercy. The rebels became its faithful and some of its most able servants, and filled many high offices both in the civil and military services. Two of them may be mentioned. Count Yenomoto, the leader at Hakodate, was afterwards Prime Minister to the Emperor, and Count Hayashi, a very young officer in Yenomoto's navy, was, still later, Ambassador to Great Britain, and as such signed, on behalf of his Sovereign, the first Treaty of Alliance between the Empires of the West and of the Far East.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PEOPLE UNDER THE TOKUGAWA

THE Tokugawa régime had given profound peace to the country during 250 years after five centuries of almost unbroken civil war. During all this time there was occasionally great suffering and great havoc from famine, fires, pestilence and the natural convulsions of earthquake, storm and flood, but not once was the continuity of peace threatened; not once was there even an open murmur against the authority of a Government whose only claim to rule was based on the sword and the political genius of its founder. Class distinctions continued to be maintained as they had been throughout the Middle Ages, and there was always one broad line of demarcation between the two social divisions into which the nation was sharply divided. On the one side of the line were the aristocrats, the Kuge, the Daimio and the samurai, the nobles and gentry, and on the other the commoners, the productive and working classes.

First came the *Kuge*, or Court nobles, the attendants at the Court of the Emperor at Kyoto, all sharing to some extent the prestige of the Emperor's divine origin and, though poor and landless, recognised as the highest in rank next to the Imperial family. Their time was passed in the seclusion of the Court, in the performance of Court duties, in studying Court etiquette and polite accomplishments.

The Daimio were the territorial nobles, the feudal chiefs of territories that in some cases comprised entire provinces. All were wealthy, though in varying degrees; all were practically sovereign lords of their fiefs, governing them as petty kingdoms, exercising administrative and judicial powers within their limits, issuing their own currency, framing their own laws, and supporting their own armies.

The samurai were originally known to Europeans as the "two-sworded men," from the fact that they possessed the exclusive privilege of wearing two swords, one to be used against

an enemy, the other against the wearer himself if called upon to die by his own hand. They were the military retainers of the Daimio, a greater or less number being maintained in each fief in proportion to its wealth and magnitude. From their lord they derived subsistence for themselves and their families, and in return tendered him the most unquestioning loyalty and obedience. The majority devoted their time exclusively to military training : to fencing, riding and learning the use of the spear and bow The remainder acted in the civil administration of the fief. Each fief was a microcosm of the Central Government. The Shogunate had its hereditary grand councillors, who in later years often reflected in their capacity and industry the insouciance into which their *fainéant* masters had fallen, leaving the administration of the national affairs entirely to subordinate officials. The feudatories, with rare exceptions, were like the Shoguns, mere voluptuaries, too indolent or too incapable to exercise any direct control over their fiefs or to take any active share in their administration. The fiefs had their *Karo*, their hereditary chief officers on whom nominally rested the burden of the administration of the fief. They too, however, in time followed the example of the officials of the Shogunate and, while retaining the outward manifestation of responsibility, left the active discharge of all their civil duties to younger and subordinate samurai. It was from the latter class that the promoters of the great movement which culminated in the Restoration mainly came, though an active share was taken by some of the Kuge and by a few of the Daimio who were of exceptional vigour and ability.

The remainder of the population consisted of three classes of commoners which, in order of social rank, were (1) *No*, farmers, (2) *Ko*, artisans, (3) *Sho*, traders, but in the very lowest strata were found two unclassed sections, the *Yeta* and *Hinin*—the latter word meaning " not human "—the pariahs of the nation, whose avocations were the slaughtering of animals, tanning, burying the bodies of executed criminals, unclean pursuits, regarded with loathing and detestation, who lived entirely apart from their fellow-countrymen and were held as being almost outside the pale of ordinary humanity.

The classified commoners were immeasurably above the Yeta and Hinin, but they were little better than serfs in comparison with the haughty military class—mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, ministers to the luxuries and necessaries of their betters, without a particle of civil right or liberty for themselves. Iyeyasu, in the legacy or testament which he left for

the guidance of his successors, defined the relative position of the samurai and the other three classes :

"The samurai are the masters of the four classes. Farmers, artisans and merchants may not behave in a rude manner towards samurai, and the samurai is not to be interfered with in cutting down a fellow who has behaved to him in a manner other than is expected."

These principles were guiding laws throughout the whole period of 265 years during which the Tokugawa dynasty held sway, and even for the first few years of the Emperor Meiji's reign. In the struggles which preceded the Restoration, in the political movements that soon followed it, the lower classes had neither voice nor part. No statesman consulted them; they never thought of obtruding their voice in any controversies, nor, till conscription called upon them, their persons in fighting. Their lot was to obey, and furnish the means that were required for the maintenance of the samurai, to remain contentedly not only in the station of life but in the actual locality in which they were born, each man, no matter what were his tastes and abilities, bound to follow the occupation of his forefathers. Rigid sumptuary laws prescribed their dress; none was allowed to ride on horseback. When in the presence of a samurai they either prostrated themselves, with foreheads bent to the ground in an attitude of craven humility or, if circumstances required them to stand, they did so with bent backs, with eyes fixed only on the ground and spoke with bated breath, using words expressive of the most profound respect for their auditors, of the most intense depreciation of themselves. If struck, no thought of retaliation ever entered their minds; if murdered in pure wantonness, as often happened, no thought of vengeance or legal punishment of the assailant occurred to their families or successors.

Bowing beneath this state of serfdom, as they uncomplainingly did, they nevertheless enjoyed in copious measure the best physical benefits of citizenship. They had ample security of property. Crime was punished with worse than Draconian severity, but criminals were only a fragment in the general population. They had in normal years abundance of the necessaries of life and a relative abundance of its pleasures, and they were a contented, light-hearted, laughter-loving people, who looked at life from its brightest aspects, who were always happy in their homes, and who abroad could always find enjoyment in the simplest pleasures, above all in those that were afforded by the beauties of nature that were all around them in profusion.

Secure in their own islands from external aggression, they had nothing to provoke jealousy or discontent in comparing their lot with that of the people of other nations. They trusted in their own gods; they reverenced their Emperor; they loved their country with a passion that leaves that of the Irishman or Swiss far behind; they were taught to render due respect and obedience to those above them, and the lessons instilled from earliest childhood were not forgotten in old age. Europeans who lived among them have told us what they were. Will Adams, the bluff English sailor, describes them as "Good of nature, courteous above measure; valiant in war; governed in great civility, and very subject to their governors and superiors." Kaempfer, the German physician of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki in the years 1692–1694, a profoundly philosophic student and observer, says:

"They are bold, heroic and revengeful, desirous of fame, very industrious and used to hardships; great lovers of civility and of good manners; very nice in keeping themselves, their clothes and houses clean and neat; in practice of virtue, in purity of life and outward devotion far out-doing Christians; careful for the salvation of their souls; scrupulous to excess in the expiation of their crimes, severe penalties being put upon the least transgression of the law."

One hundred and fifty years later Lord Elgin, the first British Ambassador to Japan, found them—

"everywhere full of charming good nature and courtesy, with a social and moral condition that provoked as much admiration as the material beauty of their country. Japan in 1858 was a land with a perfectly paternal Government; a perfectly filial people; a community entirely self-supporting; peace within and without; no want; no ill-will between classes."

It is, however, in the letters of the devoted Jesuit priests, who in the early days of the Tokugawa lived in and gave their lives to Japan, that we can best glean the character which they had then and which they conserved throughout the whole of the national isolation.

"They are generally strong, robust and inured to the exercise of war. They endure famine, thirst, cold, heat, watching and all other hardships with most incredible patience. They are most extremely courteous and civil; witty, subtil, curious, endued with great sense and willing to surrender to reason. Their language is grave, elegant and copious, surpassing without dispute both the Greek and Latin in the number of words and variety of expression. Their predominant passion is honour. No nation under Heaven can be more greedy of glory and more sensible of an affront. They wholly rule and govern themselves by point of

honour, being persons that study to acquire renown and distinguish themselves by their merit. They accustom themselves chiefly to warlike exercise: they bear arms from twelve years of age and never put them off at any time before they go to bed, and then they are hung at the bolster by the bedside to show themselves soldiers in their very sleep. The great fault in the nobles is that they contemn and despise all of meaner fortune. They look upon the burghers and tradesmen as people born to slavery and not meriting a right to liberty. No less than a miracle of grace is required to make a Japanese humble, but they are at the same time so absolutely masters of their passions that nothing of the Stoics is like them and it is very rare to see them quarrel or fight or even use affronting words. Their courage in adversity is wonderful. They look the greatest dangers boldly in the face and seldom show any signs of fear either in their actions or their words."

These aphorisms, taken almost at random, from the descriptions by the Jesuit missionaries of the Japanese character in the beginning of the seventeenth century, were almost as true in the middle of the nineteenth, when Europeans once more came to Japan at the end of its long isolation from the outer world, as they were when they were written. Many of them, perhaps most, apply only to the samurai, but an indication is given of the state of servitude of the humbler classes which was their natural lot. The seamier side of life is glossed over by the holy fathers. There were many aspects of it apparent in 1859, and it may be assumed they were no less apparent in 1629. Sir Rutherford Alcock, the first resident British Minister in Japan, says:

"In the vice of intemperance the Japanese have nothing to learn from foreigners. They are as much given to drunkenness as any of the Northern races of Europe, as quarrelsome as the worst and far more dangerous in their cups. There is as total a disregard of truth among all classes as can well be conceived. . . . It is no disgrace to Japanese to be detected and convicted of the most flagrant lie: there is not even the Spartan feeling of shame at being found out."

The ethics of the samurai required that he should be frugal, sober and industrious; that he should cultivate learning, loyalty and filial piety, and prepare himself physically and mentally, so as to be able not only to face death for his lord's sake, in its most painful aspects, either at his own hands or in battle, whenever or wherever it came, with stoical fortitude, but to sacrifice the lives and honour of those nearest and dearest to him. These were the ideals on which the modern code of Bushido—the way of the samurai—is founded, and they were in the feudal epochs supposed to actuate one and all. The majority lived up to the theoretical standard, but Sir Ruther-

ford Alcock saw among them types not of the knights of Christian feudalism but—

"Of that extinct species in Europe, still remembered as 'swash-bucklers'—swaggering, blustering bullies: many cowardly enough to strike an enemy in the back or cut down an unarmed and inoffensive man, but also supplying numbers ever ready to fling their own lives away in accomplishing a revenge or in carrying out the behests of their chief. . . . No mean adepts in the use of their swords, from which they were never parted: one a heavy two-handed weapon, pointed and sharp as a razor; the other short, like a Roman sword, and religiously kept in the same serviceable state—both about as dangerous and deadly weapons as man can well possess. Often drunk and always insolent, he is the terror of all the unarmed population and street dogs, and as a general rule offensive in gesture and speech to foreigners."

Women had a lowly position in the Tokugawa epoch, very different from that which they occupied in the early centuries when the Courts of Nara and Heian still flourished and their graceful accomplishments received the full measure of admiration they so eminently merited, or even in the Middle Ages when they were often the councillors of their lords, whose dangers in battle they shared, and whose castles they bravely defended in their lords' absence on other service. Under the Tokugawa they became mere chattels, mothers of children and housekeepers, but never intellectual companions to their husbands. For that they were utterly unfitted by training and life. Their duty, regulated by the most rigid principles of Confucian ethics, lay throughout their whole lives in unquestioning obedience, to their fathers when maidens, to their husbands when married, to their eldest sons when widows, and in uncomplaining servitude. "The literature of Yedo compared with that of the Heian period is infinitely more voluminous and has a far wider range of subjects." But women had no part in it. The brilliant female genius of Nara and Heian did not once display itself in the Yedo period, nor do women, no matter what their rank, seem ever to have had any share whatever in any of the functions of public life in which they were so active in the Middle Ages. There were, it is true, two Empresses, but where Emperors were nothing more than mere figureheads of the State ship, it cannot be expected that Empresses should make their personality felt, and history records little more of the two than the years of their ascent to the throne and of their abdication. In the seclusion of their own homes women passed a dull and uneventful existence, their sole thought being the fulfilment of their duty to their husbands, to whom they were bound to be gentle, conciliatory and rever-

ential, "looking upon him as heaven," never jealous, never seeing his faults, but always humbly acknowledging their own and always modest and submissive. In such a life it is needless to say that the most rigid chastity was expected, to be violated only in the interests of the family, for whose sake the wife or daughter might sell herself to a life of licensed prostitution. The husband, on the other hand, could roam abroad at pleasure, or seek in the society of the *Shirabyoshi* or her more modern sister, the *Geisha*, trained from her childhood, not only in music and dancing, but in witty and sparkling conversation, in repartee and quickness of apprehension, the distraction for which he might seek in vain in either wife or daughter or maid in his own household.

It was only the lower classes among women who read novels, of which there was a large turn-out, or attended the theatres, though the eighteenth century was the golden age of the Japanese drama. Both novels and drama rioted in pornography, and with all the high standards of sexual purity that characterised Japanese women, as high as in the very best of the most Christian countries, the pleasure that was taken in pornographic pictures or models was an anomaly that it is now hard to explain. This idiosyncrasy is not referred to by the Jesuit fathers, so it was probably the outcome of the later days of the Tokugawa degeneracy, but when Europeans came to Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century it was openly evident everywhere. The best artists, bearing names of high repute, and the best authors devoted their highest talents to it. The first United States Minister who resided in Japan

"saw lascivious pictures in their temples, shameless figures and models exposed to public view in the streets, and popular literature full of obscene illustration."

Ten years later all these symptoms were still manifest. Toy and cake shops openly displayed Priapean symbols, and little female children bought and openly played with them in the streets, while the present writer can recall a gigantic model in gilt, forty or fifty feet in height, being drawn through the public streets by more than a hundred men, with a girdle of young, brightly-dressed girls round it, on the occasion of a great religious festival. It was not until the infiltration of Western ideas of decency, which the Japanese were at first inclined to term pruriency, caused these practices to be forbidden by law that they ceased, and when they did so the new Government had already existed for nearly three years.

During those three years all the social conditions of Japan practically remained as they had been throughout the Tokugawa régime. Feudalism was still alive though drawing nigh to its death-bed, and the feudal spirit still guided and governed all the relations of life. It was the present writer's good fortune to begin his residence early enough in the Meiji epoch to enable him to see the last stages of a state of society which has now passed away for ever from all the world and to see it before it was shorn of any of its outward picturesqueness.

Japan was then a fairyland of romance in the picturesqueness of its people and in its own natural beauties, where one was, as it were by a magic wand, transported, not in thought but in actual life, straight back to the remote Middle Ages of Europe; where the feudalism of the eleventh and twelfth centuries of Europe still existed, with all its aristocratic privileges, with all its outward picturesqueness and pomp, with proud nobles guarded in their battlemented castles by armed knights, but with all its crushing burdens on the unprivileged classes; where, in the great capital, the din of commercial traffic was unheard, and the quiet rivalled that of a venerable cathedral city; where silk-clad and sword-girt samurai, who had imbibed the pride of caste with their first breath of life, marching in stately processions, escorted their lords, who rode in gorgeous palanquins of lacquer and gold, while commoners bowed their heads to the ground in lowly reverence as they passed; where life in most of its aspects was stately and dignified, but also bright and happy.

But there was another side to the picture. None of the results of modern science were known: the people themselves knew nothing of foreign countries, peoples or institutions; there was only a semblance of foreign trade; the people had for over two centuries lived their own lives, self-supplying in all their own requirements, without contact with the outer world, uninfluenced by it, with no desire to see or enquire into it, through all the long centuries during which European nations had been fighting with each other, but at the same time producing the inventions that have revolutionised all the details of human life. Japan had her own highly-organised social system, a very high degree of civilisation, and marked artistic skill, which enabled her to produce some of the most beautiful artistic treasures in the world. But it was a land of discord; a land helpless to defend itself against any European Power which chose to attack it; a land with no more productive industry than was sufficient to supply the necessities of

its own people; a land whose people were rigidly divided into social classes, out of which none could ever pass from one to another; with no courts of law, prisons that were infernos of human misery, where torture was of daily occurrence, and where the penalty of death in hideous form was inflicted daily on scores of prisoners, guilty only of the most trivial offences.

The national finances were apparently hopelessly disordered; national bankruptcy seemed to be at hand; and all the evil passions engendered by long and bitter civil war, though momentarily stilled, seemed to be only smouldering, ready to burst once more into fierce flames when the match of opportunity was applied. The samurai of the type described by Sir Rutherford Alcock were a constant presence in the streets both by day and night. They far excelled the Highland clansmen, in the days of Waverley, in their passion for fighting, their readiness to use their swords, from which they were never separated, on any pretext, any occasion, in any place. Hatred and contempt of Europeans were sentiments that tradition and religion had instilled into the hearts of these men from their earliest years, and no nobler idea ever presented itself to their minds than that of ridding their divine country from the presence of a hated foreigner by one swift, sweeping stroke of their terrible swords.

The daily risk of assassination did not, however, make Japan other than a lovely land for the European resident. Living was cheap, refined, full of joy and health, full of interesting problems of study, entirely wanting in the stress and strenuousness of the city life of Europe. The people, apart from the swashbucklers who have been described, were courteous and friendly, and the country was one whose beauty-spots rivalled the most picturesque scenes of the most beautiful countries of the world. But it was a land which, to its best well-wishers, gave not a particle of promise of what it has since become.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MEIJI EPOCH—I. THE EARLY STAGES

During the civil war which preceded the Restoration, the term which will henceforth be used to describe the overthrow of the Shogunate and the resumption of the national executive by the Government of the Emperor, there were some important domestic changes. Two Shoguns, Iyesada (1853–1858) and Iyemochi (1858–1866), died. The Conservative Emperor Komei (1847–1867), the 120th of his line, also died, and was succeeded on the throne by his only son, the Emperor Mutsu Hito, who, at his accession, was a boy in the fifteenth year of his age. It was fortunate for his ministers and generals, who had carried the war to a successful conclusion and who had now to face the task of the reorganisation of the entire social fabric of the nation, that they had no longer to serve a strong-willed master of mature age, saturated with prejudice and obstinacy, but a youth whose mind was still unformed and who could be piloted into the channels of wisdom and reason. It will be remembered that the Reformers had used the cry of "Expel the barbarian" in order to cement the antagonists of the Shogun in one firm union, and many who fought for them did so in the belief that they were using their swords in order to free the divine land from the pollution of the barbarians, and that a crusade with that object would be initiated the moment the Emperor came to his own.

The new Government were wiser. The two great factors in it, Satsuma and Choshiu, had already bitter experience of the military strength of foreigners, and the Kuge, the blue-blooded aristocrats of the Imperial Court, were not all stupid and ignorant conservatives. Even the Imperial Princes saw with them that the old isolation of Japan was gone for ever, and that, if the national integrity was to be maintained, Japan must not only enter into intercourse with Western Powers, under the provisions of international law and the universal

tenets of international courtesy, but that she must endeavour to acquire the material sciences, in which the West had made such progress, in order to raise herself to a military, commercial and industrial level with the other nations of the world.

Among them there was one which above all others was constantly in their eyes. They heard of a kingdom in the Far West which consisted of two little islands, from which an Empire had been evolved which was now spread over the whole world, whose political and commercial influence far outshadowed not only every other Western Power but that of the aggregate of all Powers that were represented in the Far East. Everywhere they cast their eyes they saw concrete evidence of the wealth, strength and influence of this Empire. Its national flag, both on ships of war and of commerce, was seen in every port. British banks were able to finance the new Government in its greatest hour of need. British merchants were foremost in wealth, enterprise, upright dealing and in number. British troops garrisoned Yokohama and maintained the security of life and property which the new Government could not guarantee. The chief Diplomatic Representative of Great Britain was a man of masterful character and untiring energy, who knew neither moral nor physical fear, and British Consular officials were the first persons to make themselves acquainted with the language, laws, history and traditions of Japan. Their knowledge guided the Minister into the right paths and induced him to be the first to recognise the legitimate rights of the Emperor and to procure the full recognition of the new Government from that of Great Britain. All these facts combined to influence Japan in taking Great Britain for her model and guide, with the ambition of raising herself to an equal status of Imperial dignity and power, an ambition which has been intensified during the passing of succeeding years, and is now, in 1923, the very soul of the nation. To realise that ambition it was necessary to discard all the antiquated and useless principles of Chinese civilisation, which had satisfied and been sufficient for the moral and material requirements of Japan during her centuries of isolation, and to replace them by those of the higher civilisation of Europe.

The first step towards this goal was taken without delay or hesitation. On February 8, 1868 a formal document under the Emperor's sign manual, bearing the Seal of Great Japan, was handed to the foreign representatives at his Court for transmission to their Governments, in which he informed them that he had resumed the supreme executive authority in both

the domestic and foreign affairs of his Empire, and that his title should be substituted in the Treaties for that of the Shogun with whom they were first made. An Imperial Rescript followed, proclaiming to the nation "that intercourse with foreign countries shall in future be carried on in accordance with the public laws of the whole world." Europeans were no longer to be considered as "Sea Pirates," "Foul Beasts" or "Red-haired Barbarians," epithets that had been freely applied to them in public documents, including Imperial Rescripts, but the equals of the divinely-descended sons of Japan.

To mark the full significance of this decision, the diplomatic representatives were received in formal audience by the Vicegerent of the Gods in his palace in the sanctified city of Kyoto. The features, hitherto so sacred that they could not be looked upon by the very greatest of his own subjects, were now exposed to the unfaltering gaze of the hated pariahs of the West. The Audience took place, but it was not free from the tragedy of which there had been already so many painful incidents. Two of the old-time fanatics, maddened by the desecration of the Emperor and the city, suddenly attacked the procession of the British Minister as it passed through a narrow street of the capital, while on his way in full state to the Audience, and inflicted severe wounds on several members of his escort before they were themselves killed or disabled. A still more gruesome tragedy took place when a boat's crew of a French man-of-war were fired on at the port of Sakai, twenty miles from the capital, and nearly the entire crew shot dead.

Soon after the ministerial Audience at Kyoto the young Emperor appeared out of doors, publicly reviewed his fleet, and was seen by his own subjects; and then he met all the nobles of the Empire in solemn council in his palace, with no screen to divide them, and there took, with all reverent formality, what is known as the Charter Oath. He swore:

(1) That a deliberative assembly shall be summoned and all measures shall be decided by public opinion.

(2) High and low shall be of one mind in the conduct of the administration.

(3) Matters shall be so arranged that not only the Government officials and samurai but also the common people may be able to obtain the objects of their desire and the national mind be completely satisfied.

(4) The vicious and uncivilised customs of antiquity shall be broken through and the great principles of impartiality and justice, co-existing with Heaven and Earth, shall be taken as the basis of action.

(5) Intellect and learning shall be sought for throughout the world for the purposes of firmly establishing the foundations of the Empire.

In this oath the future policy of the Government was outlined. It involved a complete reversal of the traditions of many centuries and a thorough revolution of the social system of the Empire. More than twelve centuries previously, in the period of "Great Reform," under the Emperor Kotoku, a revolution, similar in its principles and in its extent, took place, and the foundations which were then laid had borne the fabric of the Empire through all the intervening years. Now a new period had begun to which the *nengo* of Meiji, "Enlightened Government," was given, and the dawn was heralded of changes no less sweeping and universal than those of the "Great Reform."

Their results have now been tested through fifty years of progress. At their beginning, the status which Japan held among the nations of the world was that of an unknown petty Oriental Principality, impotent to defend herself against the unscrupulous and aggressive Powers that hung around her like ravening wolves. Her social condition, described in the preceding chapter, was such that she was not infrequently described as barbarous or semi-barbarous. Her leaders were the rawest tyros in the conduct of affairs. The people whom they led had been long bound by the iron fetters of a system of feudalism that was far more rigid than that of Germany in the Middle Ages or of England under Richard Cœur-de-Lion. It stifled every element of independent thought or action among the masses, and it was from such a people, long inured to mental and moral servitude, that the new statesmen of Japan, with all their own inexperience, were called upon to evolve a great Empire.

The statesmen, if inexperienced, were earnest and courageous. No half-measures satisfied them. A new classification of the people was made. The Kuge and the Daimios were merged under the title of Kwazoku or nobles, literally "Flower Families"; the samurai became Shizoku or gentry, and the rest of the people, including Yeta and Hinin, hitherto degraded outcasts whose touch was contamination, were grouped under the designation Heimin or commoners. All classes were made equally eligible, if they fitted themselves for it, for the military and civil offices which till then had been reserved exclusively for the nobles or gentry. Yedo, the Shogun's capital, had been the seat of the executive Government for three centuries, and it was now decided that it should henceforth be the Imperial capital and the seat of the new executive. The Court was transferred from Kyoto, and the name of Yedo was changed to

Tokyo, or Eastern Capital, by which name it has since been known.

Permission was given for all Japanese to go abroad for purposes of study, even to take their wives with them. The beginning was made, under the guidance of French instructors, of a national army, recruited by conscription, and, under British instructors, of a navy; and teachers of modern science, industry and economy, both practical and theoretic, were engaged to direct the initiation of domestic reforms. From Great Britain railway, telegraph, engineering, mint, lighthouse, meteorological and banking experts were obtained; from the United States postal, agricultural, colonising and educational; from France, law and dockyard, and from Germany medical experts. A few mistakes were made at first, but, on the whole, Japan was singularly fortunate in the Europeans who served her. All did so, after the first mistakes were overcome, both faithfully and efficiently. Many, after they had left Japan, leaving behind them monuments of good work, rose to high scientific distinction in their own countries, and, if they have had reason to be proud of their pupils, Japan has no less reason for deep gratitude to her first teachers.

All these reforms, far-reaching and numerous as they were, were cast into the shade by the greatest of all, the abolition of the feudal system and the complete unification of the Empire. The system, first firmly established by Yoritomo and brought to its perfection by Iyeyasu, has already been fully described. It seemed to be too firmly planted to be uprooted by any political convulsion, no matter how violent. The Imperial Restoration had not affected it. The feudal lords still continued to administer their fiefs and within their boundaries to retain all the legislative and executive autocracy they had enjoyed under the Tokugawa. No real national reform, operative on the whole nation, could be completed while this anachronism lasted and, while it did, the Emperor's authority could be nothing more than a shadow. Each fief had and still retained its own currency, both metallic and fiduciary, and no check could be imposed either on its coinage or on its issue of paper money. The feudatories exercised unrestrained license in both respects, and they could also pledge the credit of their fiefs at pleasure, as long as they could find bankers, traders or money-lenders to accept it. All the armed strength of the nation, partitioned into nearly three hundred independent units, was under their direct control, and it was the fief and not the nation that claimed the loyalty and services of the samurai who were the only citizens trained to arms.

"They only knew of one master, their Daimio: they forgot the existence of the Emperor, who rules over all. The resulting evils were innumerable." The Imperial Government had no army at all and no means of raising one: conscription did not come till after the mediatisation of the fiefs. Finally, all the revenues of the fiefs went into the hands of their own rulers, and the Government's only source from which the necessary funds could be obtained to meet its current expenses was the revenue of the confiscated estates of the Tokugawa family.

All these abuses had to be remedied; but it was difficult to see where the remedy could be found by a Government which had not the strength to enforce its decrees. The difficulty was overcome by the voluntary action of the four great feudatories, Satsuma, Choshiu, Tosa and Hizen, the wealthiest and most powerful of those that had taken an active share in the Restoration. They again took the lead, and in a Memorial signed by all four, which appeared in the official Gazette on March 5, 1869, they surrendered their fiefs to the Emperor. Where the four great feudatories led others were not slow to follow. A few resisted, but they had neither the moral nor material strength to oppose the general movement. The proposal in the Memorial was accepted by the Emperor in a decree, dated 6th month, 1869, almost as laconic as that in which he accepted the surrender of the Shogun:

"In regard to the proposal which has been made for the restoration of revenues and subjects to His Majesty the Emperor, the latter, fully appreciating the tendencies of the present age and having submitted the matter freely to public discussion, has granted the petition, as such a course is calculated to consolidate the authority of the Government." (State Papers.)

The surrender was at first not complete. Its principal effective item was that the revenues of the fiefs were paid into the Imperial Treasury, though they continued to be collected by the feudatories who remained in their fiefs, no longer as independent autocrats but as functionaries deputed by the Emperor to govern in his name. They retained one-tenth of their former revenues for their own personal charges, but they had no longer to support the samurai, who thenceforward received the same emoluments from the Government as they formerly had from their lords and who were retained in their old offices and rank in the fiefs. It was not till two years later, when the Central Government had become sufficiently assured of its stability and strength to enforce its own decrees, that the surrender was completed in its entirety. Then, on August 29, 1871, the

great edict appeared, under the Emperor's hand, by which all local autonomy was abolished and the lands that had been held for centuries by the feudatories reverted to the ownership of the Emperor.

It was the second time in the history of Japan in which this great step was taken of nationalising all the land throughout the Empire. The first was in the period of " Great Reform." It was complete then, but feudalism had in the course of centuries nullified it, and the first holders had been replaced by new generations who, in the civil wars that never ceased throughout the Middle Ages, won and kept their lands by the sword. The last great settlement took place when Iyeyasu consolidated his power and the feudatories who were recognised by him were secured in their ownership by the Tokugawa legislation. They had peacefully enjoyed their possessions for 270 years. Now it ended. They were ordered to quit their fiefs and take up their residence in Tokyo, still retaining one-tenth of their revenue, but deprived of every vestige of administrative and executive authority, without even titles to distinguish them from the common herd, from the *heimin*, who until now had socially been as dirt beneath their feet. Their fiefs were converted into prefectures, administered by governors and subordinate officials, down to police and postmen, who had no local prejudices and were appointed and paid by the Central Government. Law and currency were made uniform throughout the whole Empire, and at last a National Government was firmly established and the authority of the Emperor became supreme.

One further vital step had still to be taken. The social conditions of the samurai, their privileges and character have been described in a previous chapter. Literature and arms were their only occupations, and in return for their services they received from their chiefs allowances paid in rice that were small but were also secure and sufficient for their frugal needs. But they contributed nothing to the material wealth of the nation. They were drones, and as, with their families, they numbered over two million souls, one-fifteenth of the whole population, they constituted an unproductive burden far too great to be permanently borne. Still, they could not be allowed to starve, and as they were unfitted by all their previous training for economic occupations—industrial, commercial or even agricultural—they must have done so if left to their own resources.

They had already suffered greatly under the reforms. They

still remained a separate class in the community, but their special privileges were all gone. They had no longer a distinctive dress, no longer a monopoly of the honoured military service. Under the new system of conscription the basest churl took his place on equal terms in the ranks with the knight of long descent from gently-born ancestors. The reverence for their treasured swords became, in the new struggle for existence, an anachronism. Pensions, based on their former hereditary or life allowances from their fiefs, were at first assigned to them. They were, at the same time, permitted to engage in trade and to discard their swords if they cared to do so. Then, in 1873, a system of voluntary commutation was offered to them, but its terms were not such as to commend it to the majority.

Three years later the continued economic embarrassments of the Treasury entailed a further drastic step. The samurai were forbidden to wear their swords, and the commutation of their pensions was made compulsory on a basis varying from five years' purchase in the case of large pensions to fourteen in those of the smallest, the payments being made in bonds bearing interest of from 5 to 7 per cent. The measure was a cruel one in both its aspects. At one stroke of the pen the samurai was deprived of his livelihood and of the most treasured symbol of his rank. Seven years earlier the question of making the wearing of two swords optional had been debated in the first parliament that met at Yedo, early in 1869, and not a single member in the whole assembly voted in favour of it. "The acceptance," it was said, "would cause the spirit of the samurai to deteriorate and impair the vital energy of the country. The law which imposed on all samurai the obligation of wearing two swords was well suited to the character of the Constitution and should not be repealed for countless ages. If it is, the *moral* of the Empire will be injured and become effeminate." Few of the samurai now resisted the measure in either of its aspects. They accepted it with the loyal effacement of selfish interests that was always so prominent an item in their ethics, and bowed their heads before it. There was one great exception, to which reference will be made below, and one or two minor incidents of local resistance, but the new measure held its ground, and the nation was relieved from an annual burden which had sorely taxed its resources.

Many of the disfranchised samurai found employment in the new institutions that were being rapidly developed, on the Press, in the new police force and prisons, on the railways, in the lighthouses, in the army and navy, both in the commissioned

and non-commissioned ranks; and as time went on many became prominent in the public services and in the learned professions. They had not lost the intellectual superiority over their fellow-countrymen which characterised them all through the era of feudalism, and they used it now to the best advantage in the new commonwealth of brains. All the other outward distinctions of which they were so proud, their picturesque dress and haughty demeanour, were gone with their swords, but they remained a class in themselves, retaining the consideration that is given to gentle birth even in the most democratic countries. Many of them, on the other hand, "went under." Some took to trade, for which they were quite unfitted, and they speedily lost their little capital. There was no lack of cunning and unscrupulous swindlers, a class in which Japan has never been wanting, to help them on their way. Some were glad to accept situations as domestic servants in the houses of Europeans, encouraged by the hope of learning foreign languages, and some of those who did so were not failures. One of the earliest resident Ministers in London was a samurai of long descent, but that did not prevent him, before he entered the Diplomatic Service of his country, from acting as a house-servant to an English merchant at Nagasaki. Others sank far lower. The present writer can recall the epidemic of burglaries that occurred in Tokyo at the time. Many of their perpetrators were samurai reduced to desperation by want and humiliation, and as the criminal code of Japan was as drastic as that of Great Britain under the early Georges, their lives were ended as those of felons at the hands of the public executioner. Some were supported by their daughters, who made the greatest of all sacrifices to filial piety in selling themselves to licensed brothels, and some performed the last act and ended lives that could not be continued with honour by their own hands in the traditional samurai fashion.

The sufferings of the samurai form a sad chapter in the history of the Restoration, but they were unavoidable; and the samurai were the only class in the nation to whom the Restoration brought either loss or suffering. The Kuge were released from the impotent isolation of the Court at Kyoto, and those among them who were qualified by their abilities were enabled to take their part in the active, political and administrative life of their country. Princes of the Imperial family who, in observance of traditional custom, had already been nominated Abbots of great monasteries and had only to look forward to the secluded and celibate life of the priesthood,

abandoned their coifs and adopted military careers in which they afterwards won high distinction. The territorial nobles —the Daimio—were deprived of their estates and of all the dignity and power of semi-independent sovereigns in their own domains, and became pensioners of the Government, without either titles or any of the outward symbols of rank that had distinguished them for centuries past from the common herd. From venerated lords of great domains, in which their word was law, in which they lived in sovereign state in imposing castles, guarded by men-at-arms who were at all times ready to die for them, they became mere citizens of a great capital, where they passed unnoticed and uncared-for through the crowded streets. They no longer retained even their town mansions with their spacious and lovely gardens, in which they had been used to display their wealth and luxury when on their visits to the city.

Great indeed seemed their fall, but compensation was not wanting. They were relieved of all the administrative expenses of their fiefs, especially of the support of their feudal retainers, and though their pensions were only one-tenth of their former revenues, many of the fiefs had large accumulated reserves of specie, which the feudatories were allowed to retain for their own use. With pension and the interest of accumulated funds they were personally better off than they had previously been throughout the feudal era. Few among them felt the loss of personal authority. They had become mere nullities as far as regards the direct exercise of authority in their own fiefs. They had fallen entirely into the hands of the most capable of their own retainers. The fiefs were, in truth, in this as in many other respects, a microcosm of the Courts of the Emperor and of the Shogun, and the majority of the feudatories could not greatly miss the loss of what they never had. Their patriotism in surrendering their great estates and dignity for the benefit of their country has been loudly vaunted, but in reality the praise was little merited. Among all the Daimios who voluntarily surrendered their fiefs there were perhaps a dozen of sufficient strength of character to be able to exert their own will in the matter. The rest yielded complaisantly to advice, for which dictation would be a better term, tendered to them by the councillors of the fiefs. A native chronicler of the time said :

" The return to the ancient Rule (i.e. the Restoration Movement) was started in the first instance by the Ronins : from them the movement spread to the samurai and from them again to the Karo—the councillors

of the fiefs—and finally it was communicated to the Daimios themselves. In this way it was initiated by the people."

The samurai referred to in this extract, who were the real movers, had their reward, in many instances very splendid rewards. They became the highest officers of the State in a great Empire—Ito, Inouye, Matsugata, Okuma, Oyama, Yamagata and Saigo were types of them. All were insignificant samurai in their fiefs at the time of the Restoration, and had it not taken place must have passed their lives in local obscurity, with very meagre means of subsistence on a lowly scale. As its result, they rose to high rank and great wealth, and acquired, as statesmen and soldiers, reputations of world-wide fame.

As for the mass of the people—the three lower classes, the farmers, artisans, and traders—their condition of abject timorous serfdom under the feudal system has been already described. Their emancipation did not enter at all into the thought of the principal promoters of the Restoration, but by it they were transformed from serfs into the free citizens who gradually acquired full consciousness of their constitutional rights, while some of them developed into the soldiers who stormed, without faltering, the shell-swept heights of Port Arthur, and others into the political agitators who are now clamouring for party government and adult suffrage. The transformation was not completed in a day, but it has come as the product of one of the most complete and comprehensive educational systems in the world, and also of the universal military conscription, which imposes on every man, without exception, the duty of qualifying himself, both physically and mentally, for the defence of his country. Conscription may be an evil. Its very name is anathema in Great Britain. Its opponents might think otherwise if they could see its results in Japan and give a moment's thought to what it has contributed towards raising her to her present standing among the nations of the world.

Lastly, the Restoration enfranchised the agricultural classes. Agriculture is still the principal industry of Japan as it is in England, but it was overwhelmingly so in pre-feudal days. The farmer, like other commoners, was a serf, bound to the soil. It is true that he ranked next in the social scale to the samurai, that he had certain rights of self-government and that he enjoyed security of tenure of his land, custom forbidding that he should be displaced; but he could not sell his rights, and the exactions levied on him were at the will of the feudatory and were frequently and arbitrarily changed. Sometimes,

maddened by his burdens, he rose with his fellows in rebellion; but when he did so, though the feudatory might be called to order by the Central Government, his own leaders paid for their outbreak by death upon the cross, themselves and all their families. There was no uniformity in their treatment throughout the Empire any more than there was in law or currency: it all depended upon the personal requirements of the particular feudatory in each case and upon the character of his councillors. Now the feudal owners were gone, and the land reverted to the ownership of the Emperor. The tenants were confirmed in their holdings under what may be called perpetual leases, subject to the payment of what is termed a tax, but which may be more properly described as a rent of moderate amount on a scale that is uniform throughout the Empire. They are now virtually freeholders, with full power of sale or transfer, and are freed also from all the sumptuary restrictions by which they were formerly oppressed. Many farmers are in Parliament, so that their rights and claims are never overlooked.

Before closing this chapter it may not be inapt to record a pleasant interlude in the political movements described in it. The Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria, who afterwards became a German Princeling, was at that time a captain in H.M. Navy in command of the *Galatea*, a very smart frigate of the olden style. In the course of a voyage round the world he visited Japan, and notice of his coming was formally given to the new Government. A discussion as to his reception at once arose. There were still Conservatives in the Court who were aghast at the idea of their Emperor taking any action which could be regarded as an admission of equality between a foreign Prince of the Blood Royal and the Imperial and Heaven-descended family of Japan. The Progressive party among the ministers and the nobles took more liberal views, and, basing their advice on precedents of a more remote antiquity than those which had guided Court etiquette in Japan during nearly twelve centuries, and on Japan's new policy, so very recently adopted, of cultivating the friendship of Western nations, they urged that the reception of the Royal visitor should conform, as far as the circumstances of Japan permitted, to international usage. The Progressives, in this as in all other matters, prevailed. The Emperor expressed the pleasure he would have in welcoming his Royal visitor: a palace, furnished with all European requirements, was specially prepared for him, and a public proclamation was issued:

"A Royal Prince of England is coming to this country, and the Imperial Government will receive him according to the customs observed between friendly countries. Let everyone from the highest to the lowest bear this in mind and be careful not to act in an offensive manner."

The visit took place and was in every way a success. The Duke arrived in the capital on September 1, 1869, and remained for a week, during which he was received on a footing of entire equality both in state and private audience by the Emperor, and every ceremonial was strictly observed in accordance both with the ancient usages of Japan and with modern international etiquette. Prior to his arrival the roads were cleaned and repaired and prayers for his safe journey offered to the God of Roads. Religious ceremonies were held to exorcise all evil spirits, and on his arrival at the castle the time-honoured ceremony of *Nusa* took place. "Nusa is the sweeping away of evil influences with a sort of flapper with hempen tassels." As to modern usages, the Royal standard was hoisted; Royal salutes fired; guards of honour mounted, and special entertainments, such as theatrical performances, feats of arms or equestrianism, exhibitions of archery and wrestling and other games, were provided for each day.

Many princes, British and others, including the present King, have since followed the example of the Duke of Edinburgh and visited Japan; and their receptions have always been worthy of hosts who are past masters in all the qualities of tactful, courteous and generous hospitality.

CHAPTER XV

THE MEIJI EPOCH—II. CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

The Restoration was accomplished; there was peace throughout the land; the Emperor was firmly seated on his throne in his new capital, and there was none to dispute his will as the supreme executive authority of the Empire. The great reforms, which were destined to revolutionise its domestic life and its international relations, were already initiated, and the statesmen who served the Emperor had already given proof both of courage and of considerable political foresight and judgment. But they were entirely without experience of Imperial administration, still more of the conduct of foreign affairs. Japan had already ten years' experience of foreign intercourse, but it had been conducted by officers of the deposed Shogun, and they disappeared from public life along with their master. Of the new Government, all consisting of very young men from the point of view of statesmen charged with a great task—few of them were over thirty years of age—only a few very subordinate members, of whom Ito and Inouye may be taken as types, had acquired any direct knowledge of the West while there as humble students. Few were acquainted with any foreign language. In their own country they had many enemies. The defeated adherents of the Shogun viewed them with sullen hatred, while many of their own sympathisers who had given their swords to their support when they raised the cry of "Son-O Jo-i" [1] in the faith that victory meant the expulsion of the despised barbarians, were now converted, by the new policy of the Government, into its implacable enemies, ready to raise the standard of revolt on any opportunity against the dishonest advisers by whom the divine Sovereign was so grievously misled.

With these difficulties to face, the Emperor's Charter Oath

[1] "Son-O Jo-i," signifying "Revere the Sovereign and expel the barbarian," was adopted as the motto of the Imperialist party at Kyoto at the initiation of the movement for the restoration of the Emperor. It was used as a battle-cry during the subsequent hostilities.

had to be fulfilled. Absolute had to be replaced by Constitutional Government; all the people had to be conciliated so that national unanimity should be complete; the lower had to be raised to the level of the privileged classes, and like them infused with the *Yamato damashi*, the spirit of loyalty and patriotism: merit was to be made the avenue to public service, and the national foundations were to be laid so that the Empire should take its place on a footing of perfect equality with the greatest nations of the world. With these domestic problems before it, claims were being threatened by Western Powers which were a positive menace to the territorial integrity and prestige of the Empire, and there was neither army, navy nor war-chest. The Treasury was empty. The revenues that had become available by the surrender of the estates of the Shogun and the feudatories were large—about twenty-five millions sterling—but the indisputable claims on them were also large, and the current expenses of the Government, with all its great reforms, all involving heavy outlays for the provision of foreign instructors and material, were daily becoming heavier. Never had a young Government a heavier task before it; never was a task faced with better courage; never was one more successfully accomplished.

There were three great concrete problems to be solved. National autonomy had to be recovered; Constitutional Government to be established; the Korean difficulty to be settled. The three did not arise immediately, but they made themselves apparent at a very early stage in the career of the new Government, and all the great administrative, military and economic reforms that were undertaken were mainly ancillaries to their solution.

The main provisions in the Treaties between Western Powers and Japan, under which intercourse was regulated at and after the Restoration—the first of which was concluded with the United States in 1858 and the last with Austria-Hungary so late as 1869—were based on the model of those already existing between European and other Oriental Powers. All of them, in view of the Oriental systems of law and punishment, in all of which torture, not only of accused persons but of witnesses, was an undisguised feature, necessarily reserved a complete system of exterritorial jurisdiction over European citizens residing within the limits of the Oriental Power. The main principles of this system were: that all foreigners entitled to its privileges were subject to the criminal and civil jurisdiction only of courts of their own nationality, in which only their own

laws were administered, and to the executive control only of their own officials. Conventional customs tariffs were added to the exterritorial clauses of the Treaties, by which all customs duties were fixed on an *ad valorem* basis of five per cent., and this legitimate source of increasing its revenue was therefore forbidden to a Government already in sore financial straits.

The Shogun's Government incurred much odium for having given its assent to these Treaties, though it had done so under duress and in entire ignorance of the ordinary international rights of Sovereign States. The Emperor's Government was not guiltless, for it was by it, when in its extreme youth, that the Austro-Hungarian Treaty was concluded, and its clauses substantially amplified the most stringent exterritorial provisions of the older Treaties. It was not long, however, before the new Government learned that the Treaties were derogatory to the prestige of an independent State and constituted a reflection on the civilisation of the Land of the Gods, and their revision became its avowed ambition from an early period of its existence.

Its first great step to that end was the despatch of an Embassy on a large scale to the Western Powers, at the head of which was Iwakura Tomomi, a Court noble of high degree, who had played a great part in the political movements that led to the Restoration and was now Sa-Dai-jin, the Second Minister of State. He was accompanied by four prominent members of the Government, and by a very large staff of secretaries and technical experts whose function it was to investigate European sciences.

The Embassy sailed from Yokohama at the end of December, 1871, and was absent for three years. It was received everywhere with hospitality and interest, but it totally failed in its main object. The time had not yet come when an Asiatic people could be admitted to an equal status with Europeans, more especially one that was known to be in a condition of military impotence. "Reform your laws and your prisons," was the universal answer to the Japanese appeals. Above all, abolish torture and "remove at once the laws that prohibit Christianity and enforce cruel punishments on native converts." To this no answer was possible. On every high road throughout the Empire, Government notice-boards, in conspicuous places, still bore proclamations forbidding the practice of the "Evil Sect"; and in the very year that the Embassy started a new persecution of native Christians was initiated, and was being ruthlessly pursued while the Embassy was being honoured and fêted in Europe. This fact was sufficient in itself to ensure the failure had other reason been wanting, but, disappointing

as the failure was, it was fully redeemed by success in another aspect. Its members were impressed by all that they saw with Japan's inferiority in the elements of modern material civilisation, and the lessons they learned had great results in stimulating the Government in its career of progressive development.

Japan only attained her object after twenty-five years of wearisome diplomatic negotiations, after many disappointments which sorely tried the patience of her people, who all the time were steadily advancing in their knowledge of international law and usages and in their appreciation of the constitutional rights of an independent nation. Her own Constitution and the two Houses of Parliament working under it were in full operation before she was able to exercise the full rights of a sovereign people. She had grown in wealth and industry, and her laws, courts, police and prisons had not only been entirely remodelled on the principles of European jurisprudence and punishment, but, in many details, they displayed great improvements on these principles. Punishment in Japan, which for ages was of more than Draconian severity, now errs on the side of leniency, and her prisons, formerly infernos of human suffering, are administered with a degree of benevolence from which the countries of Christian Europe, Great Britain included, might well take lessons. The moral and material elevation of the prisoner, not his degradation and physical agony, is the main object of its regulations and their administrators. These considerations, no doubt, had their gradual influence on the Western Powers, but it was not till Japan proved herself a great military Power that "her long-cherished aspirations, exhaustive plans and repeated negotiations were crowned with success." In July 1894, Japan went to war with China, and within six months had beaten that great historic Empire to its knees both on land and sea. In the same month Great Britain signed a new Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Japan, and where Great Britain, with its paramount commercial interests, led, other Western Powers had perforce to follow. The new Treaties all came into force on July 14, 1899, and under their provisions Japan acquired the national autonomy of which she had been so long deprived. It is the first instance in all history of an Asiatic, non-Christian Power being vested with full control over all Europeans within its natural jurisdiction. Great Japan of to-day is anxious to wipe out every trace of the memory of the days of her degradation in the eyes of the Western world.

The revision of the Treaties was an international question. The domestic question of constitutional reform proceeded with

it, side by side, and as the one tested the skill and energy of Japanese diplomatists so did the other the sagacity and prudence of her statesmen. The first and most outstanding promise in the Charter Oath was that " a deliberative assembly should be summoned and all measures decided by public opinion." In accordance with this promise a so-called Parliament of 276 members was summoned and met in Tokyo on April 18, 1869, " to discuss how the great foundations of the national welfare shall be most firmly laid." Each fief sent one member, but no thought was entertained of any representation of the great cities or towns or of the people at large. They were still far beneath the notice of the official and territorial aristocracy. This Parliament had no legislative power. It was, in fact, a mere debating society, but its members displayed considerable powers of thought and argument in their discussions, and showed that they were not wanting in courage or good sense. A strong spirit of conservatism manifested itself in the almost unanimous rejection of proposals to abolish the wearing of two swords and the practice of *seppuku* (hara kiri), but there was no evidence of any uncompromising opposition to these and other reforms in the future. With all the promise it gave of a judicious use of reasonable powers, this embryonic Parliament soon died a natural death, and nothing more was heard of it or of its members in their corporate capacity.

A very active spirit of constitutional reform soon began to develop itself among certain classes of the people, not confined to the samurai. The serf-like commoner began to share in it. The Press was growing in ability and circulation, and consequently in influence. Students who had been sent to the West, mainly to the United States and England, for educational purposes, returned, their minds full of abstract ideas of civil rights and freedom. They had seen the marvellous prosperity of the two nations, and they ascribed it largely to their constitutional Governments. They assumed that material prosperity was the natural corollary of constitutional freedom, quite failing to see that the freedom had been slowly acquired after long and costly struggles by a people who had first laid the foundations of their prosperity by industry and ingenuity, whose descendants reaped where their forebears had sowed. The promise in the Charter Oath was recalled and quoted as a pledge for the creation of an unfettered national assembly, and the immediate fulfilment of the pledge was demanded from the Government both in Press and on the platform.

A strong, outspoken agitation spread through the country,

having its headquarters in the province of Tosa, one of the four which led the way in the surrender of the fiefs, under the leadership of Itagaki, a statesman of ability and, for those days, of experience. He was originally a prominent and capable member of the new Government, but resigned in 1873 along with some other prominent colleagues on account of differences of opinion with the majority in regard to Korea. After his resignation he gave his eloquence and his energy to the promotion of the new movement, firstly in his own native province and subsequently throughout the Empire. He was, in Japanese politics, what Chamberlain simultaneously was in English politics in the seventies and eighties of the last century, and he was as little agreeable to his own Government as was Chamberlain to the Tory Government or party in England in that period.

The Press bristled with strong denunciations of the faithless and tyrannical Government, and it kept alive an agitation which, in all its details, has been paralleled in our Indian Empire in the present century. Assassination, through all ages a common incident in Japanese history, was openly advocated and used, and the assassins were, as has always been the case in Japan, when the motives of the assassin were not personal, glorified after their deaths with every popular tribute of honour and admiration that could be tendered to their memories. Drastic Press-laws, with severe sanctions, were promulgated, and editors and contributors went to prison for long terms by scores. The present writer saw in the year 1876 more than 150 in one prison alone in Tokyo, all in prison dress, fed with prison food, lodged in the ordinary barred sheds that take the place of cells in Japanese prisons, but all exempted from manual labour and permitted the unrestricted use of books, so that they were able to continue their studies while their sentences were running. More came forward to take the places of those who went to prison, and ingenious subterfuges were employed to evade the literal provisions of the statutes. Journalists took a keen interest in the affairs of Turkey and Persia, and articles were frequent in which strong sympathy was expressed with the woes of both sovereigns and peoples of the two countries on account of the incompetent and dishonest ministers who flouted the sovereigns and tyrannised over the peoples. "Prison editors" became regular members of the journalistic staff. They wrote nothing themselves but accepted the responsibility for everything that appeared, and were ready to undergo any sentences imposed for it by the courts.

The agitation continued through all the decade, and to it

two incidents may be partly, though not wholly, ascribed. One was the assassination of the great statesman Okubo. When we look back on the incidents of the Restoration with the knowledge and judgment that time has given to us, we cannot but recognise that the two master intellects in it, the two to whom its inspiration and success were mainly due, were those of Okubo and Kido, the former a samurai of Satsuma, the latter of Choshiu. There were others. Sanjo and Iwakura, Court nobles; Uwajima, a great territorial noble, all three of high degree; Itagaki, a samurai of Tosa, and Saigo, a samurai of Satsuma, all played their part; but it is to the two first that the chief honour must be given. Ito, Inouye, Okuma, Terashima, Soyejima and others, who afterwards became great men in public life, were then only in the rank and file of officials. Okubo and Kido were as far above all others as were Gladstone and Disraeli, when both were at the summit of their fame, above the politicians who followed at their heels. Okubo and Kido sprang from rival fiefs, long antagonistic to each other, but both were united heart and hand in the great game of Imperial politics. Kido died from natural causes in 1877, but in 1878 Okubo was assassinated in broad daylight within the Imperial castle walls of Tokyo, when on his way to an audience at the Palace, thus meeting with the fate that, under precisely analogous circumstances, eighteen years earlier, had befallen the great reforming statesman of the Shogunate. Political assassins in Japan, whose motives are pure and unselfish, are accustomed to prepare in advance written statements of their motives which they either carry on their persons at the time of the deed or take reliable steps for its delivery immediately afterwards. The main motive of Okubo's assassins was his opposition to the speedy initiation of Constitutional Government.

The second incident, though the first in point of time, was the Satsuma Rebellion. In 1873 the disruption that has been already indicated took place in the Ministry. Its immediate and ostensible cause was the complication with Korea which is described in another chapter. Saigo, Itagaki and some others resigned and withdrew to their native fiefs, Itagaki to foster political agitation by constitutional methods, Saigo nominally to devote himself to farming and field sports. As Okubo was the most prominent civil leader of the Satsuma fief in the Restoration, so was Saigo its chief military leader. He deservedly acquired high prestige and, being a man of commanding personality, of winning, genial manners, of strong

character, and of very exceptional stature for a Japanese, he exercised an influence in the old fief that was second only to that of the ex-feudatory. The Satsuma fief was in the extreme south of Kyushu, far away from both the material and moral influence of the Central Government, with a frontier line of hills that could only be crossed by a few steep and narrow passes. It was almost the last part of the Empire to share in Hideyoshi's unification nearly three hundred years previously, and it was only brought under his sway after a long and arduous campaign. Through all the Tokugawa Shogunate it rigidly and haughtily maintained its exclusiveness, and the only irruption it suffered was the bombardment of the British fleet. History now repeated itself. When, on the mediatisation of the fiefs, all the others submitted unresistingly and uncomplainingly to all the measures of the Imperial Government and accepted the strangers, from other parts of the Empire, imposed upon them as their governors and administrative officials, Satsuma, though one of the prime instigators of the whole movement, alone stood out. It contemptuously returned all the nominees of the Government in the steamers which brought them and intimated its intention of continuing to manage its affairs with its own clansmen, precisely as it had done before the Restoration. The Government could do nothing. Kagoshima, the capital city of the fief, was inaccessible by land, and the experience of the British fleet showed that it should not be rashly meddled with by sea.

The spirit of the fief was strongly conservative. It had helped to overthrow the Shogunate, but it had no sympathy with the domestic reforms that followed; and all the samurai rights and privileges, all the class distinctions of the feudal era, were steadfastly retained without limitation or change. The complete abolition of feudalism was a bitter pill for it to swallow, but when the samurai afterwards lost, in successive stages of reform, their class privileges, their monopoly of military service, their distinctive dress, their livelihood, and, last and most bitter of all, their treasured swords, the burden was too great to be borne, and the conservative and reactionary fief threw down the gauntlet of defiance to the reforming Government and broke into open rebellion, not against the Emperor—that would have been against all the precepts of the national religion—but against the evil councillors who surrounded him.

Satsuma, it may be observed, had for three centuries been a stronghold of Shintoism. Buddhist priests had acted as spies

in Hideyoshi's interests, and both they and their religion had been inhibited in the fief ever since his conquering campaign. Saigo became the leader of the rebels. All his time had not been spent in farming and fishing. He had established great schools of arms in which the young samurai of the fief—he would have nothing to do with the plebeian commoners—were carefully trained in the use of modern arms and in military science, and when he took the lead in the rebellion he had at his disposal an efficient and well-equipped army of 40,000 men, all devoted to him, all saturated with the ancient spirit of the samurai in its bravest and noblest aspects, all inheriting the contempt of their fathers for everyone below their own class in life. Against such a force what could the Government conscript army do, recruited as it was from peasants, mechanics and tradesmen, all newly-emancipated serfs ? Would not all, officers and men, give way and scatter like hunted deer as they had always done when threatened with the swords of the samurai ?

On February 15, 1877 Saigo marched out of Kagoshima at the head of his advance army of 14,000 men. The Government was taken by utter surprise, and Saigo might have succeeded if he had continued his march direct to the Main Island. He turned aside to besiege the garrisoned town of Kumamoto which still retained its strong feudal castle and, just as the Boers in 1899 sacrificed their chances at Ladysmith, so did Saigo sacrifice his in 1877 at Kumamoto. Time and men were wasted in a vain siege. The Government was able to organise its strength, and then the end could never be in doubt. The campaign lasted for nearly nine months and was bitterly fought with heavy losses on both sides. The lowly conscripts, well-trained, equipped and led, faced the samurai without flinching and showed that the archaic national spirit, when all classes were equal, was not dead, though it had been slumbering for long centuries. As must always be the case, the resources of a single province failed before the concentrated might of the established Government of a whole nation. In September the last scene was played, when Saigo and a few hundred of his most devoted followers died on a hill near Kagoshima on which they had made a last despairing stand, Saigo and other leaders dying by their own hands when they saw that all was lost, as through all ages samurai, similarly placed, had died before them. Although more than 40,000 men had fought on Saigo's side, he never had at his disposal more than 22,000 at one time. The Government had been able to put 65,000 troops into the field.

Nearly one-third of the aggregate forces engaged on both sides were killed or wounded, and the Government expenditure on the campaign amounted to over eight millions sterling, a new and heavy burden being thus imposed on the national finances, already in a condition that appeared to be tottering towards bankruptcy.

The expenditure whether of men or money was not wasted. The authority of the Imperial Government was at last supreme throughout the land. The Government was assured of the loyalty of all its servants. Not one of the Satsuma clansmen already in its service, high or low, military or civil, forsook it during the rebellion, not even Saigo's own younger brother, like him a distinguished soldier. The lesson learned as to the conscript's value as a trained soldier was unanswerable. Henceforward it could be hoped that the fighting unit of the nation could be matched without fear against any in the world. Lastly, a new incentive was given to the national movement for constitutional reform. The leaders argued, not without plausibility, that had the people been more trusted, the rebellion would never have taken place.

Through all the decade the Government had been firm in its refusal to yield to agitation, no matter how clamorous, but such steps as could reasonably be taken were put in practice for the advancement of political knowledge. An annual convention of the governors of the various prefectures was first convoked in Tokyo in 1874, its main object being to make the Central Government acquainted with the feelings and needs of the provinces. This was the first deliberative assembly brought together since the Parliament of 1869. A year later the Genroin or Assembly of the Elders—the Senate—a consultative and advisory body on Imperial affairs—was nominated under an Imperial decree. The Press, yearly growing in circulation, was of course an important factor in the spread of political education, and the translations of Western works on politics and philosophy, that were published in increasing numbers and were eagerly read, had also great influence. The political lecturer, the formation of political parties, the spread of higher education, formerly the prerogative solely of the upper classes but now open to everyone, all contributed to the development of the appreciation of popular rights and of a higher standard of political consciousness. Local elective assemblies with considerable control over local affairs were instituted in 1878. At last on October 12, 1881, the Government felt itself warranted to issue an Imperial Rescript declaring that a National Parliament should be estab-

lished in 1890 in order that the Imperial purpose of gradually establishing a constitutional form of Government might be carried out.

Nine years were now left to the Government in which to make preparations for the fulfilment of their promise, and much had to be done. Vigorous measures were taken for the continued promotion of material prosperity. The national finances had fallen into a deplorable condition. The Government had been only able to meet its liabilities, largely increased by the Satsuma Rebellion, by an unrestricted issue of inconvertible paper currency, and this had fallen to a discount of over 80 per cent. as compared with specie. Very drastic measures had to be taken to prevent panic and to rehabilitate the national credit. Railways were extended, so also were postal and telegraph services. The mercantile marine was organised, and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha—the Japan Mail Steamship Company, now one of the largest, wealthiest and most prosperous shipping companies in the world—was founded.

What may be called the moral preparation for the dawning era of constitutionalism was pursued with no less vigour than the material. The whole form of the executive Government was altered. Hitherto it was framed on the ancient Chinese model introduced in the Great Reform of the seventh century, which had served Japan until the establishment of the first Shogunate in the Middle Ages. This form was revived at the Restoration, but in 1885 an Imperial Rescript replaced it by a Cabinet somewhat on the English model, presided over by a Minister President without a portfolio. Both the Minister President and the members of the Cabinet, who were the chiefs of the principal executive departments, were directly responsible to the Emperor and were appointed and controlled by him. The laws were reformed and codified. A new criminal code and a code of criminal procedure, both based on the law and practice of France, came into operation in 1882. Both codes have been since modified in 1890 and in 1908, but their original fundamental principles are still retained. The new civil and commercial codes were not completed till a later date—till 1899. In their preparation both French and German expert assistance was used, but the principles of German law were mainly followed. In all cases, in the preparation of the legal codes and in the drafting of the Constitution, the Japanese were true to their ancient tradition of never showing themselves mere servile imitators. As in the seventh century, when they had recourse to China to learn elements of civilisation of which

they were ignorant themselves, so in the nineteenth century when they had recourse to the West, they took what seemed to them to be best amongst Western institutions, but always modified what they took so as to harmonise it with the national spirit and existing institutions of their own country. They have followed this principle in education and law, and those among them who have become Christians have, it is said, observed it in their adaptation of the tenets of their new religion. The drafting of the Constitution was entrusted to Ito, who spent some years in Europe studying existing models. In 1884 he returned to Japan with his material and soon after was chosen by the Emperor as the first Minister President under the new system of government.

From the first it was resolved that the Legislature to be provided under the new Constitution should consist of two houses, a House of Peers and a House of Commons. The Japanese had a nobility of the very bluest blood that can flow from ancient lineage, more authoritatively ancient than that of any other nobility on earth. Even the Colonna are parvenus compared with some of the nobles of Japan. But while possessing a nobility, Japan had no peers. At the Restoration there were 193 families of the Court (Kuge) and 280 families of the territorial (Daimio or Buke) nobility. Both these degrees were then merged into one class, the Kwazoku, flower families, and this term became and remains the generic name for nobles irrespective of differences in rank. But while "nobles" survived as a class, all the old individual titles were, when the fiefs were mediatised, taken away, and no new ones were conferred, so that even the very highest among them was in no way distingushed by his personal description from the humblest and most lowly-born commoner. The head of one of the illustrious Fujiwara houses, whose daughter was the Empress, was simply Mr. Ichijo; the proud lord of Choshiu, the owner of estates that spread over more than one province, who traced his descent to an Imperial ancestor, to whom tens of thousands of samurai owed allegiance, who boldly challenged the naval might of all the Western Powers, became Mr. Mori. It was not till 1884 that this injustice and public inconvenience was remedied by the establishment of the Five Orders of Nobility so that, in the words of the Imperial Rescript, "special honours should be conferred on the high-born descendants of illustrious ancestors, whose noble deeds are the lustre of the State, and on civil and military officers of distinguished service." The titles of the Five Orders were taken from China and are

translated Princes—this translation was preferred to Dukes—Marquises, Earls, Viscounts and Barons, and the first list contained 504 names. The two highest ranks were then reserved for nobles of ancient descent, with the exceptions that Marquisates were conferred on the sons of the great dead statesmen, Okubo and Kido. Since then the peerage has been largely increased, and even its highest degrees now contain members who owe their rank entirely to their own or their fathers' services to the State. Nor has the peerage been closed even to traders, formerly the lowest and most despised of the "four classes." Some who have made money and have used it for the public benefit have been rewarded with titles of nobility.

Public agitation, though at first stilled by the Emperor's promise, broke out with renewed violence in the later years of the decade. Political parties were formed—the Jiyū-to (Liberals) and the Shimpō-to (Progressives), the first under Itagaki and the second under Okuma, both seceding members of the Government—and every indication was given that the first use of the powers granted under the new Constitution would be to thwart the Government. A bitter struggle ensued, the agitators had resort to violence, including assassination, and a new element appeared in public life, a class of physical bullies, who were known as *Soshi* ("strong gentlemen"—they were mostly of samurai descent) who played a part somewhat similar to that of the Ronin in the days preceding the fall of the Shogunate, only while the Ronins used the national swords, the Soshi used cudgels or sword-canes. They had all the brutality without a particle of the romance of the Ronin. They became as much a terror in the capital as were formerly the worst type of drunken swashbuckling samurai, their political opponents not being their only victims. The Government on its side used all legal means of repression. Political meetings were suspended, newspapers suppressed, and arbitrary powers were conferred on the police to deport or imprison the Soshi.

At last the allotted decade passed away, and on February 11, 1889 the Constitution was proclaimed by the Emperor in person, with all the public ceremony that was befitting a great occasion, amidst universal rejoicing on the part of the entire nation. In the summer of 1890 the first general election was held, and in the following November both Houses of the new Parliament met and the first session was opened by a speech from the Emperor.

The House of Commons in the early years of its existence

did not give much promise of proving an unalloyed blessing to the nation. Its main characteristic was factious, unceasing and violent opposition to the Government, to every individual composing it, to every measure proposed by it, and to every action taken by it. There were three principal reasons for this: antipathy, not restricted to the Parliament, to what was termed the Sat-Cho Government; the personal hatred to its personnel of many of the newly-elected members who had suffered long terms of imprisonment or heavy fines during the agitation; and finally, disappointment with the Constitution itself. Not only the ministerial members of the Government but almost all the permanent civil servants of the State from judges down to postmen, and all the commissioned officers of both the army and navy, were composed exclusively of members of the former Satsuma or Choshiu fiefs, and, in the fondness for clipping words that is a characteristic of the Japanese, the combination of the two first syllables "Sat-Cho" was originated to describe the bureaucratic product. The national antagonism to it was strong, but helpless except in so far as it found expression in Parliament or in the Press. As to the Constitution, the agitators had hoped and struggled for one on the English model, under which the Government would be responsible to and hold their offices at the will of the Parliament. What had been granted to them was one on the German model, under which the Ministry was solely responsible to the Emperor, by whom alone they could be appointed or dismissed, and the only authority over them that could be exercised by the House was found in a limited control of finance.

While the members of the House obstructed the Government by every device that ingenuity could suggest, the Government on their side freely availed themselves of the weapons provided in the Constitution for its control, and suspensions or dissolutions were frequent. This sordid struggle continued till 1894. Then war took place between Japan and China, and from the hour at which it was declared the true measure of Japanese patriotism asserted itself. All obstructions to the Government ceased in the Parliament. Every measure brought forward was passed without demur, almost without debate; every supply asked for was voted without cavil, and this continued while the war lasted. The previous agitation had in some degree contributed to the causes of the war, though it was not its mainspring. The Government, it was said, was not averse from war in order to relieve itself of domestic obstruction, and the Chinese Minister in Tokyo advised his own Government that they could safely

defy Japan, handicapped as she was by political discord among her own people. He misjudged Japan as the German Emperor was induced by the threatened rebellion in Ulster to misjudge Great Britain in 1914. In the political agitation in Japan the House of Peers had taken no part. Both before and during the war it preserved its dignity unimpaired, and it has always, in peace as in war, held itself aloof from party faction and from purely obstructive tactics against the Government.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MEIJI EPOCH—III. KOREA AND THE CHINA AND RUSSIAN WARS

It becomes necessary here to revert to the question of Korea, and rapidly to trace the events which led through several centuries to the outbreak of war between Japan and China in 1894.

All official relations between Japan and Korea lapsed during the fifteen years which followed the withdrawal of Hideyoshi's armies, though the factory was maintained, as of old, at Fusan, and through it a small trade was carried on between Korea and Tsushima. Then Iyeyasu, having firmly consolidated the power of the Tokugawa Shogunate, suggested to the Korean Government that the tribute-bearing embassies to Japan be resumed. It was not till 1617, when Iyeyasu was dead, that the Koreans consented, but from that year annual embassies bearing presents were regularly sent to Japan, for many years all the long way to Yedo, but from the end of the eighteenth century only as far as Tsushima. The change was made at the suggestion of the Shogunate, which had got weary of the expenses incurred in the entertainment of the mission from its landing in Japan till its departure. The cost had at first been gladly defrayed in return for the compliment that was paid to the vanity of the early Tokugawa Shoguns, but as years went on and the Shogunate seemed to become an indisputable freehold for the Tokugawa, it was felt that the compliment could be dispensed with to the relief of a Treasury that was often in difficulties.

This custom continued till the dawn of the Restoration. Then it fell into abeyance; but when the administrative unification of Japan was completed under the new Imperial Government a formal intimation of the change that had taken place was sent to the Government of Korea. Both the letter and its bearer were received with contemptuous insult, and all overtures of friendship were haughtily rejected in a written reply.

Korea was at that time under the domination of a tyrant known as the Tai-won-Kun, the father of the King who was still in his minority. To him the idea of Western intercourse was as repugnant as it had been a few years earlier to the Emperor Komei of Japan. He had very recently been able to oppose, by force of arms, attempts on the part of France and the United States to enter into relations with him, with such success that neither of those Powers had thought it worth the cost and expense to renew their efforts. He was therefore filled with pride as well as with conservative bigotry, and he displayed both qualities in the answer which he sent to the new Government of the young Emperor.

It was in 1871 that his answer was sent, but its receipt was concealed at the time, and it did not become publicly known till two years later. Then it produced a ferment of national indignation, and it was angrily demanded by the samurai that the insult should be wiped out by war. Japan was, however, in no condition to enter upon a struggle, which would almost certainly have involved war with China, and wiser counsels prevailed, though not till a crisis, accompanied by the resignations of Saigo, Itagaki and other prominent members, had taken place in the Ministry and the Emperor himself had been induced to exercise his veto. Only the peace party was now left in the Government, and though Iwakura, one of its great leaders, narrowly escaped assassination, they were able to proceed with their domestic reforms without serious interference until the Satsuma Rebellion.

Japan, however, did not forget Korea's insult. Through all the years during which Korea had sent the tribute missions to Japan, she had also sent similar missions to the Court at Peking, but there was a very great difference in her attitude to the two Powers. Her vassalage to China was founded on gratitude and honour. From China she had acquired her civilisation, nearly 2,000 years ago, and China had helped and fought for her in her hour of need, when she lay prostrate beneath the feet of Hideyoshi's devastating armies. From Japan she had learned nothing. On the contrary, it was she who had been Japan's teacher through centuries, and Hideyoshi's invasion had left memories which had never faded throughout all the intervening years of the ruin wrought by what was termed, in the everyday vernacular of the people, " the accursed nation."

As Japan has always done she bided her time. In 1875 a Japanese gun-boat, the *Unyo Kan*, was surveying the approaches from the sea to the river Han—the river on which the capital, Seoul, lies about twenty-five miles from its mouth—when

she was fired upon by a small fort. The gun-boat had not a particle of right to be where she was or to survey the territorial waters of an alien nation without the licence of its Government. Such a proceeding on the part of a Western ship of war would have been angrily resented by the Japanese themselves, and it was so, in fact, when it was attempted by a Spanish ship early in the seventeenth century. But these considerations had no influence on the commander of the gun-boat. The fort was promptly shelled, and then a landing-party completed what the firing had begun, stormed the fort and slaughtered not only the garrison but many innocent rustics of the neighbourhood as well, displaying all the ruthless thoroughness that has been, through all ages, characteristic of Japanese military methods. A large quantity of spoil was taken—guns, drums, banners, etc. —and sent to Tokyo, where it was publicly exhibited in the grounds of the Sho-Kon-Sha—the " Spirit-Invoking-Shrine "—the Shinto Temple in which are worshipped the spirits of Japanese soldiers who die in battle for their Emperor. The present writer remembers very well one drum in the exhibition that was over six feet in diameter. The guns were antiquated firelocks which were all the Koreans had to oppose to the rifles of the most modern type in the hands of the highly-trained Japanese blue-jackets.

Once more there was a political ferment. War was again demanded, and Japan, apparently united in herself—the coming of the Satsuma Rebellion was not yet suspected—and having made considerable progress in the material elements of Western civilisation, was in a very different position to that of 1873. Wiser counsels again prevailed, and instead of war an expedition was sent to Korea to endeavour to induce her to abandon her isolation and enter into a formal treaty of friendship. Japan now repeated on Korea the United States' experiment made with Perry's expedition on herself in 1853. Her object was peaceful, but if diplomatic persuasion failed the expedition was strong enough, as was Perry's, to back its demands by force. The object was attained, and after a month's negotiations, in which the principal difficulty experienced was a diplomatic quibble as to the title of the King of Korea, a treaty was signed on February 26, 1876, and the mission made a state entry into the capital, the first appearance of Japanese within its walls since it was taken by Hideyoshi's army. In the treaty, history again repeated itself. Japan imposed upon Korea without scruple every one of the exterritorial provisions which the Western Powers had twenty years previously imposed upon her,

of which she had ever since been complaining as gross violations of equity and justice and as an outrage on her national dignity as an independent Empire.

The Satsuma Rebellion took place in 1877, and for the next few years Japan was too fully occupied with her own domestic affairs to concern herself actively with Korea. But the Hermit Kingdom was very present to her thoughts. It was in a greater condition of military impotence and of almost as great domestic unrest as was Japan herself when her modern intercourse began with the West, and there were the same conservative prejudices as she had known to be overcome before any effort could be made to assimilate Western science. Russia, then believed to be the strongest military Power in the world, was in the full tide of her career of aggression in the Far East. She had, while Japan was still quite impotent for defence, cast covetous eyes on the island of Yezo (Hokkaido), and she had only been restrained by the British fleet from a military occupation, to be soon followed by annexation, of the island of Tsushima. Now Korea was before her, helpless, ignorant and disorganised, with its splendid harbours, a most tempting prey to a covetous and ambitious Power that had as yet no ice-free port on the Pacific.

Korea, in Russian hands, would have been to Japan what Belgium and the Netherlands would be to Great Britain if both were ever to fall into the possession of a restored Germany, with all its wealth, militarism and greed amplified from what they were in 1914. This possibility was a constant nightmare to Japanese statesmen, and they saw only one method of insuring against it, viz. to induce Korea to reform herself as Japan had done, so that, when the necessity arose, she would be capable of defending herself against foreign aggression, no matter whence it came. The present writer, who was in the inner circle of all the diplomacy of Tokyo at that period, who read daily the leading journals of the capital and had every opportunity in social intercourse of making himself acquainted with national opinion, is firmly convinced that, at the beginning of their Treaty Relations, Japan's motives were entirely honest, and that she had no less good-will towards Korea than the United States had to herself throughout all the years of their early intercourse. But misfortune relentlessly thwarted her good intentions. No nation was ever worse served by its own officials than was Japan in those years in Korea, while the conduct of her citizens who flocked there was an outrage on civilisation.

In 1880 a Japanese Legation was permanently established in Seoul, and three ports were opened to trade. In 1882 and 1883

Korea concluded treaties with the United States and Great Britain, and these were soon followed by treaties with the other great Western Powers, all of whom quickly established their own Legations in the capital, and the time-honoured isolation was at an end for ever. In all these treaties, including that with Japan, Korea was described and dealt with as a Sovereign independent Power entirely free from all control of China. As it was in the beginning so it continued to be, and the histories of both Japan and Korea in the first decades of their foreign intercourse are almost identical. In both countries there were Progressive and Conservative parties, the one anxious to cultivate and benefit by foreign intercourse, the other equally hating Europeans and craving to restore the old isolation, tempered in Korea's case only by vassalage to China. In both countries the people were practically serfs, who had no share or interest in public affairs; but while the upper classes in Japan, as represented by the samurai, were full of unselfish patriotism and virile energy, their fellows in Korea, the Yang Ban, were sunk in indolence and corruption, and absorbed, in so far as they interested themselves in anything, in the petty controversies of their own sordid politics. In Japan, fanatics endeavoured to enforce their views by ruthless murder. Twice night attacks were made on the British Legation in Tokyo by armed men with the avowed object of murdering all its inmates. On both occasions, the attacks, though made by infuriated samurai, armed with their deadly swords and reckless of their own lives, were repulsed and the Legation was saved.

In Seoul, the Japanese Legation was also twice attacked, and on both occasions it was destroyed. The first was in 1882. The attack was made by a mob, which at first consisted of mutinous soldiers, angry at not being paid, and all its violence was first directed against their own authorities. The Koreans are a placid, long-suffering, gentle people. So are the Chinese, but in no other part of the world, not even in Belfast, can a more savage, cruel or determined mob be produced than from the oppressed classes among both peoples when they are once thoroughly roused by a sense of wrong too great to be borne. The mutinous soldiers were soon joined by the people, as maddened with hatred of the Japanese as the soldiers were with personal wrongs, and after both had vented their wrath on their own Government and officials, they turned their hands on to the Japanese Legation. For seven hours the inmates successfully defended themselves. Then the buildings were set on fire, and all had to fight their way through the narrow streets,

packed with the infuriated mob, to the coast, twenty-six miles away. It was a gallant exploit, of which any nation might well be proud, carried to its end by brave men, not one of whom ever faltered through all their sufferings and dangers, all keeping together in a compact phalanx, with their Minister at their head and their wounded in the centre, till they were beyond the city walls. Then they made their way at night, amidst a violent storm of wind and rain, to the coast, where they were rescued and conveyed to Japan by a British man-of-war, the *Flying-Fish*, which happened to be there, engaged in the same task and with precisely the same right as was the *Unyo Kan* when fired upon seven years before.

Of course the Japanese were soon back again in the capital, and apologies, indemnities and punishments were extorted from the Korean Government at the cannon's mouth, just as they had been, less than twenty years previously, by the Western Powers, with Great Britain at their head, from Japan herself under similar circumstances. And now another Western precedent was followed. During the unrest in Japan the French and British Governments maintained military guards for their protection. The guards were small at first, scarcely a company of marines in each case, and they were quartered within the walls of the Legations at the capital. They were soon enlarged into strong garrisons with headquarters at Yokohama, where their presence only obtruded itself on the eyes of a few low-class traders, who at that time had no knowledge of either national rights or dignity. The armed Legation guards continued to be simultaneously maintained also in the capital, where they made a brave show in the view of the ardent patriots who were in full agitation for national and constitutional rights. The Japanese were constant in their complaints of the humiliation to which they were thus exposed, and to this day it rankles in their memory. No memory of their own feelings prevented them from now inflicting the same humiliation on the Koreans, and an infantry guard was henceforward maintained at the Legation in Seoul. That nothing might be wanting, injury was added to insult and, following the Western precedent in Japan, the unhappy Koreans were forced to provide and pay for their quarters.

The Legation was rebuilt on a larger and more imposing scale, at Korean expense, and again occupied ; but two years later it was again burnt down, this time not by a reckless mob, mad with their own personal wrongs, but as one of the incidents of a political outbreak against the Government. Both the con-

ception and execution of this outbreak came from the Progressive party in Korean politics, but all evidence in regard to it leads irresistibly to the inference that the Japanese Minister shared in their councils and that they had his full sympathy. Murder and riot were rampant in the capital for several days. Several Korean officials of the highest rank were butchered, and finally a general attack was made on the Japanese Legation. Its inmates were now much more numerous than on the first occasion. They had been increased during the riots by refugees from other parts of the city, including several women and children, and there was a strong guard of regular infantry, but they had neither provisions nor water, so once more the Legation had to be abandoned to its fate, and a way fought to the sea. The Minister may have been a stupid and dishonest diplomatist but he showed himself a brave and capable leader in his conduct of the retreat. The troops were formed into a square and, with women and wounded in the centre, the whole body fought its way out of the city and through the following night, to the coast. It was mid-winter, snow was falling heavily, and both food and clothing were scanty, but all at last reached the coast safely. These two incidents are not only noteworthy in the history of Japan but in that of the diplomacy of all the world. The Japanese in Seoul in 1884 were in a position not unlike that of all the Western Powers in Peking in 1900. Their agony was shorter, but while it lasted it was much sharper.

More diplomatic negotiations followed. There were now other Legations besides that of Japan in Seoul, none of which had been harmed in the outbreak. China was represented by Yuan-Shi-Kai, the ablest of Li-Hung-Chang's lieutenants, who, in later years, became the first President of the new Chinese Republic, and who would, had he lived a very little longer, have ascended the Imperial throne. Korea's vassalage to China was theoretically ended when she entered into Treaty Relations with Japan and the Western Powers as an independent State, but close friendship still existed between the suzerain and the vassal. China still exercised her tutelage through her strong and determined representative at Seoul. Korea still relied on China not only for advice but for protection.

During the ten years that followed the last Seoul outbreak Japan was constant and persistent in her efforts to stimulate Korea's slow progress on the paths of reform, but they were in vain. Her own Minister's action in 1884 had been fatal to any respect which Korea might have begun to feel for her. The old hatred was revived in full force while the Progressives, who had

been in sympathy with her, had deservedly paid for their attempted revolution either with their lives or by exile in poverty and obscurity. The Conservatives were in office and authority. They had the sympathy of the Court, and they were encouraged and supported by Yuan-Shi-Kai in all their reactionary policy and administration, while they were themselves saturated with corruption. No conservatism, however, could prevent the progress of foreign trade, which substantially increased during the decade. New industries were started; some administrative reforms were made, the principal being in the Customs Service, which was organised and conducted by European officers of long experience from the great service in China; and foreign settlements were established at the Treaty Ports on the models of those at the ports of China and Japan.

There again Japan was unfortunate, even more so than she had been in the case of some of her officials. Her subjects who came to Korea seemed to be composed principally of the worst specimens of Japanese ruffiandom—adventurers, bullies and cheats—whose conduct to the gentle, submissive, helpless nation was marked by such elements of cruelty and cupidity that it formed a poor recommendation for the new civilisation of which Japan professed herself to be the apostle. On the other hand the Chinese immigrants, orderly, law-abiding and scrupulously honest, were living certificates of the morality of the old civilisation under which both China and Korea had enjoyed peace and security through scores of centuries.

For ten years Chinese influence prevailed, and Yuan-Shi-Kai was virtually Governor with full powers. Sir Harry Parkes, the great British Minister, had filled the same rôle in Japan, both before the Restoration and throughout the first decade of the Imperial Government's existence, but his influence had been exerted in the interests of progress, while Yuan-Shi-Kai's was devoted to rigid conservatism. Both countries had unreservedly yielded themselves to their monitors, and in ten years of progressive and enlightened government Japan had grown from a negligible Principality into a Power well able to defend itself against any aggression; on the other hand, after a similar period of foreign intercourse, with almost equal opportunities had she chosen to avail herself of them, Korea, under her corrupt, bigoted and incompetent Government, remained the helpless and backward country that she had been at the first, an easy prey to any military Power that chose to menace her.

In 1894 a rising against the Government occurred in one of the southern provinces of Korea, the rebels being known as

Tonghaks, a title revived from an anti-Christian organisation long defunct.

Like the Satsuma rebels in Japan, the Tonghaks had no ill-will to their King, but they wished to free him from the influence of his evil advisers. They gradually gained strength and inflicted several defeats on the troops sent against them, till at last the Government was thoroughly alarmed and appealed to China for help. The appeal was promptly answered, and a detachment of Li-Hung-Chang's highly-trained and well-equipped army of northern China was landed in Korea and encamped at Asan, a town some twenty miles south of Chemulpo.

After the Seoul émeute of 1884 when, during the course of the riots, Chinese and Japanese troops came into collision, a treaty was signed at Tientsin by the two Powers defining their relative positions in Korea. Among its clauses was one providing that neither should despatch troops to the peninsula without previous notice to the other, and in conformity with it China informed Japan of what she had now done. The Chinese force numbered 2,500; Japan promptly sent one of over 8,000 men which, unlike the Chinese, which was composed entirely of infantry, was complete in every detail of cavalry, infantry and artillery. It was at once quartered near the capital, and Japan intimated to China that "it would not be withdrawn without a guarantee that would ensure the future peace, order and good government of Korea." She also notified China that the despatch of any more troops to reinforce the comparatively small contingent already in Korea would be construed as an act of hostility.

Some further diplomatic negotiations ensued; but while they were in progress, Li-Hung-Chang, ignoring the notice he had received from Japan, embarked a further detachment of 1,500 men at Tientsin on board the *Kowshing*, a British merchant ship specially chartered as a transport. While on her voyage to Asan, without any convoy, under the British flag, manned by British officers and a crew of British subjects, though of Chinese race, she was intercepted by the *Naniwa*, a Japanese cruiser under the command of the officer who afterwards became famous as Admiral Togo. She was called upon to surrender, and as the Chinese officers of the troops on board refused to allow the captain to take this course, she was sunk by a torpedo after a signal to the Europeans to jump overboard. The master and some of his deck officers, who obeyed this signal, kept themselves afloat by swimming till they were picked up by the *Naniwa's* boats, and a German, who was attached to the troops in some

capacity, swam to a small island that was not far off. With these exceptions everyone on board perished, the *Naniwa's* boats not only refusing to save a single soul of Chinese race, but actually sinking, with their boat-guns, the boats crowded with men that had succeeded in getting away from the *Kowshing*.

It appeared at first that this occurrence was an outrage on the British flag and, had he been left with a free hand, the Admiral on the station would have undertaken immediate reprisals ; but the Japanese never fail to consider any question in all its possible aspects before they take action, and in this instance English specialists in International Law declared that they were entirely within their rights, though the regular Law Officers of the Crown were, at first, of a contrary opinion. England had, therefore, no more to say, either for her flag or for her dead citizens of both British and Chinese race. The incident was allowed to lapse. It occurred on July 25, 1894, nine days after the new Treaty of friendship was signed in London, under which Japan recovered all the sovereign rights of which she had been so long deprived and was admitted into the full comity of civilised Powers. Seven days after its occurrence war was formally declared by both China and Japan.

It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that presented by the two Powers in their respective degrees of readiness for the conduct of the war upon which they had now entered. It was greater than that of France and Prussia in 1870. In Japan, nothing had been overlooked. Every possible provision of ammunition and supplies that experience and foresight could suggest were ready long beforehand, so much so that it is not false in her case, scarcely even an exaggeration, to say that it was hardly necessary to purchase even a gaiter-button while the war lasted. European residents in Tokyo were astounded at the evidence that was daily brought before their eyes of the completeness in every detail of the Japanese preparations. She had now a highly-trained army of a strength when fully mobilised of 150,000 men, with capable generals at its head, and the officers included experts in every branch of modern military science. Her mobilisation scheme, when tested, worked with the ease of a well-oiled engine. She had enough merchant shipping for all oversea transport requirements, and an efficient navy to convoy it. China had none of these things. Nothing was ready. There were no reserves of any kind, either of men or material. Corruption was then, as it is to-day, universal in all departments. Her army, with the exception

of Li-Hung-Chang's small contingent, was a mob, unarmed, untrained and unpaid. Regimental and staff officers were equally incompetent. Only one of her generals showed a particle of skilful leadership throughout the whole war. Her navy was on paper stronger than that of Japan, but here again corruption had played its part, and the shells for the heavy guns on some of her most formidable fighting units were merely wooden dummies.

Under such circumstances the war could have but one end. From the day of its declaration till peace was signed at Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895, the war lasted in all nine months, and throughout the whole of it China had not one glimmering of success either on land or sea. Her soldiers and sailors were outclassed wherever they met their foes; and at last, beaten to her knees, with nothing to oppose the triumphant advance of the Japanese armies to Peking, the proud and ancient Empire, compared with which Japan was, in the words of a Jesuit priest in the time of Hideyoshi, "hardly one handful of earth," was forced to sue humbly for peace to the Wojen—the nation of "dwarfs"—on whom it had through all centuries looked down from a lofty platform of haughty superiority. The veteran statesman Li-Hung-Chang, one of the great statesmen of the world in the nineteenth century, had to swallow the bitter pill of proceeding to Japan and, after negotiations that extended over a month, being forced to submit to all the terms imposed by her.

They were sufficiently severe: an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels; the cession of all the southern portion of the province of Shing King, including the whole of the Liao Tung peninsula, at the southern extremity of which lies the great fortress of Port Arthur, and of the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores; the grant of several new commercial privileges in the benefit of which all other Treaty Powers would share; and, last of all, the final and complete renunciation, for ever, of all claim to suzerainty or control of any kind over Korea. The negotiations were interrupted by the attempted assassination of the venerable Chinese statesman by a Japanese fanatic. Fortunately it had no worse results than a gun-shot wound in the face, not very severe, though it is said that the bullet was never extracted, and it procured some softening in the heavy terms that were in the first instance demanded by the victors. This attempt was not the only stain on Japan during the war. Her armies and camp-followers had occasionally perpetrated very great excesses, especially after the capture of Port Arthur, for which no justi-

fication could be alleged either of excessive provocation or of military passion after a costly battle.

Japan's triumph seemed to be complete. She had proved to the world that she was a strong and most capable military Power, and her successes in diplomacy were no less than those she had gained in the field. The example of Great Britain was being followed by other Powers; the obnoxious treaties were being revised, and the day was already well in view when she should stand on a footing of international equality with all Christian nations, the first Oriental Power in all history to do so. The cost of the war, in either men or money, had not been heavy, and she had obtained not only a large cash indemnity—China was enabled to pay it off in full very speedily with the help of a loan from Russia—but also a cession of territory which brought with it valuable strategic and commercial potentialities.

In spite, however, of her great triumph her people, not the samurai alone but the whole population, maintained the quiet and decorous dignity that centuries of training in the most severe schools of Stoicism had made natural in the samurai. There was no vulgar "Mafficking," either during the war or at its close, and all its victories seemed to be taken almost as ordinary incidents of daily life. The public announcement by Press extras or otherwise provoked no greater manifestations of joy than a few exclamations of "*Kekko*" ("Excellent") or some louder cries of "*Heika Banzai!*" or "*Teikoku Banzai!*" ("Long live the Emperor!" or "Long live the Empire!"). It was well that this was so, for a very quick and bitter humiliation was to come.

Hardly had the ratifications been exchanged when Russia, Germany and France presented a joint note to Japan in which she was "advised" to forego, in the interests of the peace of the East, the cession of any Chinese territory on the mainland of the Continent. It was at the same time verbally intimated in terms that left no doubt that the three Powers were united in their determination to enforce, if necessary, the acceptance of their advice. Great Britain had been invited to join in this step, but she had, during the war, refused to yield to earnest appeals from China to interfere, and she now continued to maintain the same neutral attitude. Of the three Powers Germany was especially insistent in her verbal demands and threats, which assumed an offensive tone that was not forgotten twenty years later.

Japan was exhausted by the war, and her military and naval

experts advised the Government that she was in no condition to enter on a new campaign either by land or sea, and so the advice was quietly accepted without any outward semblance of a murmur, beyond a request for a pledge that the territory now retroceded should never be given to any other Power. The pledge was refused, but a solatium of 30,000,000 taels was added to the indemnity. Indeed, on the very next day, it might almost be said, Japan began to prepare for war with Russia, a war which, whenever it came, would by its results relieve her from what was now a haunting dread and teach other Powers not to meddle lightly with her again.

She had now a free hand in Korea. China was gone from it, and Japan proceeded to initiate the reforms which she thought essential for Korea's future safety and progress. Count (afterwards Marquis) Inouye undertook the task, and Japan showed the serious view she took of her responsibilities in Korea by sending there one of her greatest Ministers, although there was so much scope for his experience and ability in his own country.

Her efforts were once more doomed to failure. In Korea, Inouye made the one great mistake of his official career. He estimated the receptive powers of Koreans by those of his own countrymen, and he subjected them to a torrential downpour of reforms that they were utterly incapable of assimilating. His reforms extended down to the most meticulous details of daily life. He ordered the tobacco pipe, to which Koreans had been accustomed for centuries and to which they were as devoted as were the feudal samurai of his own land to their swords, to be cut down in length, and the European to be substituted for the national mode of dressing the hair. Both these decrees, which are now quoted only as examples of a score of others, insignificant as they seem, were utterly repugnant to the people. The hair, gathered in a top-knot on the crown of the head and surmounted by a tall wide-brimmed hat, made of horse-hair netting, was the outward sign of a Korean's attainment to the dignity of full manhood. The abolition of the top-knot was bitterly resisted and could only be enforced in the capital, which was always under the eye of the Japanese Minister and his police-guards. In the country the old style was universally retained and, as a result, the capital was on the verge of starvation, for countrymen bringing in their produce could not pass the gates with it, while, if without it, they were mobbed in their own villages. So they stopped away altogether, and the supplies of the capital ran out.

While Inouye remained in Seoul his masterful character

secured at least the apparent observance of his reforms; but after a year he had had enough of his unpleasant and exacting exile, and he returned to Tokyo. His successor, Lieut.-General Viscount Miura, was most unfortunately chosen. His rank in the army and the fact that his military services had earned a Viscountcy in the peerage were evidence that he cannot have been entirely deficient in ability, but he carried into his new office the worst traits of insolent military autocracy, and he quickly showed himself as deficient in every element of constructive or administrative statesmanship as he was in the tact and courtesy that are essential to diplomatic success. The King and Court, influenced by the Queen, had persistently thwarted Inouye in his reforms, and the Queen, who was a woman of most masterful character, was the untiring champion not only of conservatism but of the venality and nepotism that had eaten into the political life of her country. She had to give way before Inouye, but the new Minister found in her an antagonist that was more than his match, and so it was resolved that she should be removed.

A conspiracy was thereupon formed. It consisted of some members of the political faction among her own countrymen, headed by the old tyrant the Tai-won-Kun who, though the father of the King, had with his followers been long kept out of office by the Queen and therefore hated her with all bitterness; some Japanese, including members of Miura's own diplomatic staff; military and police officers, and others from among the adventurers and roughs who now thronged the unfortunate capital. On the early morning of October 8, 1896, a mixed band of both nationalities surprised the slack Korean guard and burst into the palace before dawn and there "slashed to death," with every possible attendant circumstance of savage cruelty and brutality, the Queen and the ladies of her Court and the guards who endeavoured to save her. The corpses of all were then flung into the yard, drenched with kerosene and burnt.

When the news of this horrible outrage reached Tokyo (it was first made known in telegrams from Washington and St. Petersburg), the Minister and his whole staff and all the military and civil ruffians who aided them were promptly recalled and brought to trial in Tokyo; but the trial was farcical in its results, all escaping through legal technicalities. They had done infinite harm to their country, both to its material interests and to its reputation. The unhappy terrified King and the young Crown Prince escaped from the palace and took refuge in the Russian Legation, where they remained for two years. Korea

was thrown into the arms of Russia as completely as she had before been in those of China, and Japan lost all the influence that she had gained by her war with China.

She endeavoured to repair her mistake by replacing Miura with one of her greatest diplomatists, Baron Komura, whose genius and tact were as marked as were Miura's lack of those qualities, but it was too late. No diplomatic skill could counterbalance Russia's material advantage in her possession and protection of the King, and in the clean hands with which she had until then dealt with Korea. She, too, had a most able diplomatic representative on the spot who was not remiss in taking advantage of the opportunity that was now given to him, and Japan had to pay a big penalty for the savage crimes of her own servants.

The King remained in the Russian Legation for two years, and during that period he undid everything that Inouye had accomplished. Wherever he went, according to Korean law, he carried the Government with him, and now, rioting in his freedom from dictation, he poured forth a torrent of reactionary decrees, and all administration fell into utter confusion. The Russians gave him a perfectly free hand, but obtained from him several valuable concessions, including one for cutting timber in the valley of the Yalu River, the river which marks the north-western frontier of Korea. This was destined to be the parent of a great aftermath.

During the decade that elapsed between the China and Russian wars, Russia fixed her claws more deeply in the helpless and misgoverned kingdom and simultaneously extended her sphere of influence in China. She obtained her reward in full measure for her share in the infliction of the humility on Japan in 1895. The fortress, whose retention by China in 1895 she declared to be essential to the peace of the East, was ceded to her in less than three years under the guise of a lease, and thus she at once obtained both an ice-free port giving access to the Pacific and a fortress of the first class, both in its natural strength and in its strategic situation. She obtained also important railway concessions, including the right of connecting Port Arthur with the Trans-Continental system and of considerably shortening the main line to Vladivostok by taking it across Eastern Manchuria. With these railway concessions went the further right of protecting the new lines through Manchuria with her own troops, no limit being placed on their number. The construction of the Trans-Siberian main railway was pushed forward with feverish haste; the Russian fleet in the East was

reinforced by new and powerful ships; the fortifications both at Port Arthur and Vladivostok were heavily strengthened, and every possible manifestation was made that Russia had determined on a vigorous and forward policy. With two such fortresses in her possession, the one on the western and the other on the eastern frontier of Korea; with Manchuria on the north, occupied by her troops who could be reinforced with the aid of the Trans-Continental railway; with Korea yearly becoming more hopeless in her increasing domestic disorganisation and rotten with corruption, it seemed as if Korea's doom was sealed and that, unless Japan could save herself by her own strong right arm, she must be prepared to see the great, aggressive and unscrupulous Empire established almost within sight of her own shores, with sheltered, easily-defended harbours, within which fleets of overwhelming strength might ride in safety at their anchors.

The Boxer rising, the outbreak of a fanatical anti-European movement in Northern China, took place in 1900, and Japan being nearest to the spot was the first Power to send a strong relieving force to the aid of the beleaguered Europeans in Tientsin and Peking, who were threatened with annihilation by overwhelming Chinese hordes. She gave, on a small scale, new evidence of her military readiness for emergencies, and her army, both in its efficiency and conduct, reflected high credit on its training and discipline. Her soldiers, for the first time, had their opportunity of comparing themselves with Europeans, and the result left no doubt in their minds that they were the equals of the best.

It must be confessed that the campaign did not bring much credit to the Western Allies who took part in it. Some of them were guilty, on a wholesale scale, of outrages of lust, rapine and slaughter, that would not have misbecome the Huns of either the fourth or the twentieth centuries. At Blagovyeshchensk, a prosperous town on the Amur, the whole Chinese population, men, women and children, were driven into the river under the whips and bayonets of the Cossacks and there left to perish, and every living thing within a radius of fifty miles which had not made its escape was ruthlessly destroyed, a smiling countryside being converted into a desert. The Germans, before they embarked in their own country, were instructed by their Christian Kaiser, the friend of God, to act "so that a Chinaman would never again dare to look a German in the face." They obeyed their instructions faithfully. The United States and British troops came out with comparatively clean hands, but very

ugly stories were told of indiscriminate looting on the part of some of the British and other units. Not a charge of any kind could be made against the Japanese who, by their conduct in this affair, entirely wiped out the stains of their previous evil record in Northern China during the war and in Formosa in its subsequent military occupation.

While Russia was rapidly strengthening herself in the Far East, Japan was not idle. She gradually developed all her military and material resources with the aid of the indemnity she obtained from China, and firmly established her financial credit in the money markets of the world, until she felt herself in a position that would justify her in facing any strength that Russia could bring against her. But Russia might be able to count on the material aid of both France and Germany. The three Powers had acted in unison in 1895 and they might do so again. However ready Japan might be to face Russia single-handed she was in no position, even with her strength so amplified from what it had been in 1895, to face the combination of the three Powers. Her difficulty was relieved by the Anglo-Japanese Treaty signed in London on January 30, 1902, which secured for her a strong ally in the eventuality of her having to face a combination of more than one Power at the same time. This treaty is so important in its results on the politics, not only of the Far East but of the world, that it is not amiss to quote its preamble in full :

" The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the Extreme East, being moreover specially interested in maintaining the territorial integrity of China and the Empire of Korea and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree as follows : "

Then followed six articles. The first recognised

" the independence of China and Korea, the special interests of Great Britain in China and of Japan both in China and in a peculiar degree, politically, as well as commercially and industrially, in Korea, and the rights of both parties to take such measures as may be indispensable to safeguard those interests either against the aggressive action of any other Power or in the cases of disturbances in either country."

The second imposed a strict neutrality on one party if the other became involved in war with a third Power, unless (Article III)

" in the above event any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that Ally when the other High Contracting Party will come to its assistance and will conduct the war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with it."

These were the most important provisions, and they were sufficient to ensure a clear field for Japan when the time came for her inevitable struggle with Russia. The treaty had a more immediate benefit for her. Japan, as has been already stated, was the first Asiatic nation to acquire full jurisdiction over Europeans residing within her own boundaries; she was now also the first Asiatic Power to conclude an alliance on absolutely equal terms with one of the Great Western Powers, and the fact that she had done so set the seal of recognition on her own standing of absolute international equality with all these Powers. She was at last acknowledged as a Great Power.

Japan persevered in her preparations with renewed zeal but without ostentation or any declaration of her objects. She made earnest efforts to come to terms with Russia, but in vain. Russia continued unhesitatingly her aggressions both in Manchuria and Korea, and she extended her interpretation of the terms of her timber concession on the Yalu River into a licence for the military occupation not only of the valley of the Yalu but of all its tributaries from the source to the mouth, thus practically making herself mistress of the entire north-western frontier of Korea.

Russian interests in the Far East were at this time under the control of Admiral Alexeiev, who had been for several years Admiral in command of her Eastern Fleet and was now Governor of Port Arthur. His experience had filled him with contempt for both Japan and her people, and he considered both unworthy of serious consideration from a military point of view. It must be admitted that the Imperial Government of the Tsar had equal contempt for Great Britain as a possible antagonist, and equally little dread of her taking up arms at any time, even in defence of her enormous commercial interests in the Far East, still less on any subject not of direct material interest to her to which she was not firmly bound by a solemn written compact. In 1864, when Great Britain refused to join in the coalition against Prussia and Austria to prevent the dismemberment of Denmark, Prince Gorchakov, then the Chancellor of Russia, expressed his comment in a few words: "It is necessary to assume that Great Britain will never go to war for a mere question of honour." That impression remained with Russian statesmen until it was dispelled in 1914, and the evacuation of Port Arthur by the British ships in 1898 at Russian dictation furnished new confirmation to it. Both incidents of British policy were unfortunate. The Denmark incident, for which Lord Russell was nominally responsible, was the remote cause of the

Great War. The Port Arthur incident, which took place under the Government of Lord Salisbury, was one of the causes of the Russo-Japanese War.

Convinced that Great Britain and Japan were equally, though for different reasons, negligible military factors in the Far East, Russia thought she was quite safe in pursuing her career of aggression. She had nothing to fear from any other Great Power. None had sufficient interests to tempt it to depart from a neutrality that might be benevolent to both parties and which would certainly show no ill-will to Russia. Under the guidance of Alexeiev, supported by speculators in St. Petersburg, including members of the Imperial family, and fortified by the reliance on the help of the King of Korea, who in his yearning for vengeance on the murderers of his Queen was blind to the yoke that threatened his own kingdom, Russia made it quite manifest that her ultimate object was the annexation of the entire peninsula and the establishment of herself as a great Naval Power which would command the whole of the Western Pacific. That would have created a situation which might ultimately mean the annihilation of Japan as an independent Power, and that risk, remote as at the moment it might appear, Japan was determined to resist to the very last with all her strength and with all her soul.

She honestly wished to preserve peace. She made every effort that a self-respecting Power could do to ensure it by negotiation at St. Petersburg, but her communications were long ignored in contemptuous and insulting silence. The Russian Government, covetous and grasping, then as always, was in its most autocratic mood, and it misread Japan's desire to preserve peace as fear of the certain consequences of breaking it. It refused compromise of any kind when it condescended to reply to Japan's proposals.

Japan's much tried patience was at last exhausted after over five months' attempted negotiation. She withdrew her Ambassador from St. Petersburg and handed his passports to the Russian Ambassador at Tokyo. "What insolence!" was the Tsar's only comment when these facts were reported to him.

Never had a Power done more to avoid war than Japan had now done, both honestly and earnestly. Never was a Power more ready for war when it was forced upon her. It was the story of the war with China over again. Everything was once more ready down to the last gaiter-button. Every human contingency had been foreseen and provided for. Manchuria, Korea, Liao Tung

had all been overrun by an army of spies, of all kinds and degrees, from engineer officers of high rank down to barbers and prostitutes. All had contributed their information. Every detail of the defences of Port Arthur was known, and exhaustive plans for every stage of the field campaigns were ready in the Staff Office at Tokyo. Behind the Government were a people united from end to end in heart-whole readiness for every sacrifice, whether of blood or treasure, that they might be called upon to make for the vindication of the honour and interests of their Emperor and their country. On the other side, as it was with China in 1894 so it was with Russia in 1904. No comparison could of course be drawn between the relative military strength of the two confronting Empires, but Russia was far from her base. Nothing was really ready, and both her military and naval organisations on the spot were rotten with corruption. On sea the two Powers were apparently evenly matched. But events soon proved that the Japanese ships were superior in homogeneity, equipment, organisation, and in the skill and spirit of both officers and crews. At the beginning of the hostilities, also, the Russian ships were divided, far out of touch with each other, between Vladivostok, Port Arthur and Chemulpho, whereas the Japanese were concentrated on one base within easy striking distance.

It was on February 5, 1904 that diplomacy came to an end. Three days later, on the night of 8th–9th, a destroyer flotilla attacked the Russian fleet as it lay at anchor in an open roadstead outside the harbour of Port Arthur, and two of the strongest battleships and a first-class cruiser were disabled, while all the destroyers escaped uninjured. So little had either the crisis or respect for their foes impressed the Russian officers that most of them were on the night of the attack on shore at a ball given by their admiral to celebrate his wife's birthday. On the day preceding that night two Russian ships, a cruiser and a gun-boat, anchored at Chemulpho, a neutral port, were summoned to leave the harbour under the threat, if they refused, of being sunk at their anchorage. They bravely steamed out of the harbour, with decks cleared and bands playing, to face an overwhelming fleet that waited for them outside. An engagement followed, which lasted for thirty-five minutes, during which the Russians bravely bore the fire of seven ships, each one of which was superior in weight of broadside to their own single cruiser. Then, hopelessly crippled, they were allowed by the Japanese to return to the harbour, where they were sunk by their own crews. The incident was insignificant in its material

results, the loss of a cruiser and a gun-boat, but it taught two lessons, neither of which was without value—that the Russian gunnery was of low order, and that the Russian ships were ill-found in some most essential necessaries. For over half an hour the cruiser had seven targets circling round her at ranges of from five to ten thousand yards. Her gunners did not make one single hit. When she returned to harbour, her decks all shambles, and assistance was sent from all the neutral warships at anchor, she was found to be utterly lacking in every surgical requirement, even in common bandages. It was one small illustration of the general corruption. The medical stores had never been bought or, if provided, had been sold by the officers for the benefit of their own pockets.

The Japanese had now command of the sea, and they used it to pour troops into both Korea and Manchuria. The Russians, whose land forces were scattered as their ships had been, and who depended on a single line of railway for reinforcements, both of men and materials, from their base 6,000 miles away, were outnumbered and quickly driven from Korea, the first great battle taking place on the Yalu, whose timber-clad valleys were now going to cost them so dearly. Then Port Arthur was isolated. Three pitched battles had at first to be fought before that end was attained; and in all of these victory was with the Japanese. A siege was then begun which lasted for five months before the great fortress fell. It had been closely invested from July, and it was on the 31st December that its surrender took place. All modern engineering skill had been exhausted on it, and it was supposed to be impregnable both by land and sea. Its outer defences were only carried after severe fighting which involved a terrible toll of casualties among the Japanese.

After the fall of Port Arthur the campaign was pushed forward with renewed energy in Manchuria; and in its closing scenes, in the first half of March 1905, the Battle of Moukden was fought—until the Great War, the greatest battle in human history. Marshal Oyama, with 400,000 men, attacked a Russian army of over 300,000, strongly entrenched on a frontier forty miles in length. The result was that, after terrible losses on both sides, the Russians were forced to retreat. On the 16th of March they evacuated Moukden and did not halt in their general retreat until they were fully seventy miles to the north of the city. The Japanese justly claimed the victory, but they were too exhausted to follow it up. The Russian retreat was made in good order, and they still preserved an unbroken front in their new position, with an army that was still formidable in its numbers and was

receiving reinforcements, while the Japanese were drawing very near the limit of their military resources.

On the sea they had been uniformly victorious. The index given at Port Arthur and Chemulpho on the first days of the war proved correct till its end, and throughout it both the skill and devoted bravery of the personnel of the navy were manifested in a way that must have satisfied the most exacting patriot among their countrymen. They had casualties. Two of their finest battleships, *Hatsuse* and *Yashima*, were sunk by mines off Port Arthur, but their loss was concealed, not in the fashion that the loss of the *Audacious* was concealed in the Great War, when it was public to all the world except the English people, but so effectively that the Russians never heard of it till the war was over. A cruiser sank after collision with a sister ship, but wherever the Japanese met the Russians in fair fight they were victorious. The British people were justly proud of the exploit of the *Vindictive* and her consorts in blocking Zeebrugge in the Great War. The Japanese achieved, with heavy loss of life, just as great an exploit at Port Arthur when, on the third of three attempts, five large steamers, deeply laden with stones, were, in the face of a heavy fire from the forts, sunk in the narrow channel. This was on May 2, 1904, and the battleships of the Russian fleet were thenceforward blocked in the harbour.

Little more than a year later came the "crowning glory." In October 1904 a new Armada was despatched from Kronstadt. It was hastily got together. It included many obsolete ships, and all were manned by raw, untrained crews. The officers, without confidence in either ships or men, started on their long voyage to the China Seas in the spirit of those about to die. All their omens were ill. At the very outset of their voyage, while still in the North Sea, their nerves failed them, so that they indulged in some indiscriminate firing near the Dogger Bank on harmless English fishing-boats which nearly brought the British navy upon them. Indemnities and apologies were, however, forthcoming. Russia had no coaling-stations anywhere between Kronstadt and Vladivostok, but wonderful organisation brought fleets of colliers to remote and unvisited ports in West Africa and elsewhere, where the coaling was carried out by the officers and men of the fleet, labouring in the tropical sun. The fleet finally reached the China Seas, but the ships were foul after their long voyage. Their speed, never very great, was much diminished, and they were heavily laden with the last supply of coal they had taken on board. On May 27, 1905 they

met the Japanese fleet in its full strength in the Straits of Tsushima, every unit in perfect fighting trim, officers and men now all veterans and full of confidence in themselves. In little over twenty-four hours from the time at which it was first sighted, the Russian fleet was annihilated, and only two out of the forty ships composing it escaped from the débâcle. It was a terrible holocaust both of ships and men.

Any hope Russia may have had of redemption on the sea was now gone. Both parties to the war were weary. Russia as a nation had never any real heart in it. To her it had been the war of a corrupt Court, a corrupt Government and corrupt financiers, all seeking their own selfish ends, while corruption in the military and naval administration marked every stage of its progress. Japan, with all the glory of her victories, had shot her last bolt. Both Powers, therefore, gave a willing ear to the offer of mediation which was made by the President of the United States: and after protracted negotiations their accredited Representatives concluded a Treaty of Peace at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, U.S.A., on August 29, 1905, and the war was over.

With the exception that there was no war indemnity—Russia refused to pay as much as one sou—the provisions of the Treaty were somewhat similar to those of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Japan's "paramount political, military and economic interests in Korea" were specifically admitted. Russia's lease from China of the Liao Tung peninsula was ceded to Japan, as was also all the southern section of the Manchurian Railway extending from Port Arthur to Kwangchengtze, a length of 521 miles, together with all the collateral mining and other privileges that Russia had obtained from China. Russia also undertook to evacuate Southern Manchuria, and she ceded to Japan the southern half of the island of Sakhalin as far as the fiftieth parallel of North Latitude.

This last provision was only the restitution of stolen property. The island, called Karafuto by the Japanese, was partly colonised by them in the eighteenth century and was held to be part of the Japanese dominions from the time, early in the nineteenth century, when it was proved to be an island by a Japanese navigator. Gradual Russian encroachments were made by Russian settlers, and a clause in Japan's first treaty with Russia (1858) provided that it should be held in common by both Powers. This arrangement did not prove very satisfactory, as was natural when the Russian interpretation of their rights was to grasp everything and yield nothing, and the Japanese, in their

infancy as a new nation, were quite incapable of asserting themselves. Various negotiations took place to endeavour to come to an arrangement, but only a one-sided arrangement was possible in the relative conditions of the two Powers. This was at last reached in a treaty, signed at St. Petersburg in 1875, under which Japan ceded the whole island with all its immense potentialities of fisheries, mines and forests, in exchange for the Kurile Islands, a chain of barren, fog-ridden, worthless rocks, Russia's ownership of which was of a very dubious nature. This most inequitable transaction was partly righted by the Treaty of Portsmouth, and it may possibly be wholly so as one of the consequences of the revolution in Russia.

These were the substantial provisions of the Treaty. There were other clauses relating to fishing rights, and railway guards in Manchuria, and to China's confirmation of the clauses which directly referred to her interests, such as the transfer to Japan of the very large commercial and administrative privileges in Manchuria which she had before the war granted to Russia. The confirmation was given in a further treaty between China and Japan, signed at Peking on December 22, 1905, and the way was clear for Japan to make the fullest use of her paramount influence in Korea and her usufruct of Manchuria.

The war had cost Japan 170 millions sterling, and she now found herself laden with what was, relative to her resources, an immense debt. She had mobilised over a million men, of whom 230,000 had from first to last been killed or wounded. As a solatium, for the refused indemnity she received from Russia a cheque for four millions sterling to defray the expenses alleged to have been incurred in maintenance of Russian prisoners of war in Japan, an amount which suggests the inference that the prisoners must all have been treated on the principles of Donington Hall in the first years of the Great War. This amount was very poor consolation to a people who had confidently looked for an infinitely larger indemnity than that which they had extorted from China ten years previously, and the triumph of the war was largely discounted by the bitter disappointment caused by the fact that the Japanese had to pay their own costs. Serious riots broke out in Tokyo, and it would have fared ill with the Treaty Commissioners had they been at hand when the terms of the Treaty were published. Fortunately they were safe in the United States, and there was no scope for the patriotic assassins or suicides who never fail Japan at great historical crises. Public excitement, however, calmed in time, and it began to be recognised that the moral and material

acquisitions of the war were after all fair recompense for its cost. Japan had, single-handed, boldly tackled and beaten what was believed to be the greatest military Power in the world, the Imperial Colossus which had spread itself over both Europe and Asia and occupied one-fourth of the whole area of the world. She was now herself acknowledged to be a great military Power, no longer confined to her own Islands, but with a strong base upon the Continent and a great colonising future well in view. She had learnt that her own sons were, man for man, the equals of any soldiers of the Western Powers ; that the Asiatic, as represented by her, was the full match of the European. She had acquired a free hand in Korea and a new field in Manchuria, and the dark clouds of danger that had so long overshadowed her and threatened her national integrity were now broken and scattered. Russia's Far Eastern supremacy was at an end. Ambassadors were accredited to her instead of the diplomatic representatives of lower rank who had formerly been thought good enough, and finally a new and extended Treaty of Alliance was concluded with Great Britain and signed in London on August 12, 1905, seventeen days before the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, in which her paramount interests in Korea were fully recognised, and the partnership in war was no longer limited to the case of an attack by two Powers. It was entirely silent on the territorial integrity and independence of Korea, which prominently figures in the preamble and First Article of the Treaty of 1902 ; but it bound the contracting parties to " come at once " to the assistance of each other and to conduct the war in common to the end whenever

" by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action wherever arising on the part of any other Power or Powers either contracting party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests."

The rights and interests were defined to be :

1. The maintenance of general peace in Eastern Asia and India.
2. The preservation of the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.
3. The maintenance of the territorial rights of both Powers and the defence of their special interests in Eastern Asia and India.

With the three Treaties—the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Peace Treaty of Portsmouth and its confirmation by the Treaty of Peking—the second chapter of the history of the Meiji period may close. The third will deal with Japan as an acknowledged Great Power, expanding her dominions and taking an active and influential part in the international councils of the world.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MEIJI EPOCH—IV. FROM THE RUSSIAN WAR TO THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR

On the conclusion of the Russian War Japan began at once to adapt herself to the new position which she had attained as a Great Power with important Continental responsibilities. She had not only to provide in future for the safety of her own colonies but to preserve her paramount interests in Korea, and with that end in view to assume charge of the peninsula and to maintain order within its boundaries. China and Russia had had their chances there. Both had been driven out by Japan, and it was now to be seen whether she could succeed where they had failed.

It was a maxim of Iyeyasu, the greatest statesman and general in Japanese history, "After victory tighten your helmet strings." Following this maxim Japan, immediately after the war, began to make large increases both in her army and navy. Six divisions were added to the army, making its total strength nineteen divisions. Great reforms were made in organisation and general equipment. The conscription law was altered, the period of service with the colours being reduced from three to two years, that with the reserve being simultaneously extended from four to ten years. The general result was estimated to provide, within less than ten years, for a fully-trained army of 1,500,000 men, with a reinforcing reserve (Hoju) of another million of partly-trained men. For the navy an extensive building-programme was initiated, and arsenals and dockyards were increased in size and efficiency. In all these measures, Japan depended entirely on herself. No foreign assistance was required or asked for outside the ordinary channels of trade.

The war and the new programme naturally added considerably to the financial burdens of the nation. The national debt grew from 56 millions sterling in 1904 to 227 millions in 1908. The charges on this debt and the increased military

and naval budgets, both more than doubled, necessitated great increases in taxation, but the development of industry and trade and the improved general economic conditions enabled these increases to be faced without anxiety as to either foreign or domestic financial embarrassments. The country's international status was still further consolidated in 1907 by the establishments of Ententes with France and with Russia, so recently her bitter enemy. These were brought about by French diplomacy and were destined to have far-reaching effects within a very few years, resulting as they did in the union of the West and the East in the Great War. The Treaty of 1905 had cemented the friendship of Great Britain and Japan. France and Russia were firm allies. Between Great Britain and France, the Entente was clear and defined, but as yet there was no understanding between Russia and Great Britain or between Russia and Japan, and many relics of previous ill-will or enmity had to be overcome before it could be brought about. It was accomplished by France, the friend of all three Powers.

A formal agreement between France and Japan was signed at Paris on June 10, 1907. It was followed by a Russo-Japanese agreement signed on July 30 and by an Anglo-Russian agreement, signed on August 31, all in the same year, and the quadruple Entente was thus formed which was called upon, seven years later, to defend the cause of liberty and civilisation against the tyranny and lust of Germany. From that year Japan was enrolled in advance among the Allies of the Great War.

Japan had now once more a free hand in Korea. Her status was further recognised by the withdrawal from Seoul of the diplomatic representatives of the Western Powers that had previously resided there, and their replacement by Consular Officers. Japan replaced her own envoy by a Resident-General, and her earnestness in her new task was testified by her appointment to that office of her greatest constructive statesman, Prince Ito, to whom she owed so much of her own regeneration. An agreement between the two Governments was made in July 1907, by which the Resident-General was vested with what was practically sovereign authority, with almost complete legislative and executive powers, including those of appointing or removing all officials. Japanese Residents were nominated to assist the Korean officials in the provinces, and they became virtual Governors of their respective districts. The national independence of Korea was thenceforward only a name. An attempt was made by the Emperor to obtain the intervention of Western

Powers, but the only result was that he was forced to abdicate after a reign of forty years, begun while his kingdom, as it then was, was buried in national isolation, and while Christians, whether Western or native, who could be found in it, were being persecuted with relentless savagery, no less brutal than that of Japan in the early years of the seventeenth century; continued through horrors of war and rebellion, and ended in national ruin, with his kingdom in the firm grasp of the Power on whom he had been taught to look as his relentless enemy and the scourge of his dominions for fifteen hundred years. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, whose youth and inexperience made him a more pliant tool in Japanese hands.

Prince Ito did his best, and his best was much. Wholesale reforms were made, and the face of the country was everywhere changed for the better. Education, industry, sanitation, police, law, punishment, communications, taxation and currency, all felt the influence of his mastering hand and mind. All were developed on modern standards, but he was not fated to see the results of his work. On October 26, 1909 he was assassinated by a young Korean, maddened by what he thought his country's wrongs, and the career was thus ended of one who, beyond all cavil, was one of the world's greatest statesmen of the nineteenth century. Born a samurai, with nothing to distinguish him from his fellow-clansmen but his own abilities and courage, he had rendered great services to his country; he had received great rewards, the highest honours that his own Sovereign could bestow on him, and he had acquired a reputation that was world-wide. It is to be recorded of him that, while the other great Meiji statesmen of Japan acquired immense wealth, Ito lived and died comparatively poor.

With his death died also Korea's last hopes. The enlightened, liberal-minded, civil administrator, the founder of constitutional rights and freedom in his own country, was replaced by a military autocrat with the sternest convictions of Prussian Junkerdom. The Korean army had been disbanded, and some of the disbanded soldiers became the leaders of insurrections in the provinces which were not suppressed without great loss of life to the insurgents and some to the Japanese, and at a cost to the latter of fully a million sterling. Then the Soldier-Governor closed the "unrest and disquietude that prevailed through the whole peninsula," and the problem was solved by the formal annexation of the peninsula by Japan. This was proclaimed in an Imperial Rescript, dated August 1910. An ancient kingdom, whose traditions and history extended over

four thousand years, thus came to an end, and the last representative of a line of sovereigns, that had continued unbroken from 1392, descended from his throne to become a pensioner and Imperial Prince of Japan. The Emperor of Japan added to his dominions territory of an area of 84,000 square miles, with a population of thirteen and a half millions, both country and people, long impoverished by a corrupt and cruel Autocracy, being capable of development into very valuable assets, if wisely, efficiently and mercifully governed.

While Japan was engaged in the establishment of order in Korea, new difficulties had arisen for her on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. From the beginning of her modern relations with the West the most friendly relations existed between her and the United States. It was the United States that had taken her out of her national isolation and made with her the first Treaty of Commerce. She had thenceforward been regarded by that Great Power somewhat as a petted and attractive child, whom it was a pleasure and a pride to induct into the knowledge and experience of human life. The United States joined in the Shimonoseki bombardment, but their active part was a nominal one and, though rather tardy in doing so, they ultimately returned their share of the ill-gotten plunder. They provided enthusiastic teachers for Japan, had championed her through all her struggles for the recovery of her autonomy and, at a very early stage in the negotiations, had revised their own treaty in accordance with Japanese aspirations. It is true that the revision was hedged with conditions that rendered it a nullity, and that their citizens resident in Japan continued to retain and to enjoy the full benefit of all the privileges of exterritoriality as long as those of other Western nations ; but the new treaty was there nevertheless, signed, sealed and delivered, as an evidence of their good-will and their anxiety to be equitable. It was like the Irish Home Rule Bill of the Asquith Government, on the statute-book but inoperative. The United States had sturdily advocated Japan's right to tariff autonomy pending the fullest recovery of all her national legislative and administrative prerogatives. It is true that their only export to Japan at the time—it has very much changed since—was kerosene oil, and their Minister expressed to the Japanese Government his confident assurance that they would never tax such a necessary of the people as light. With that reservation, Japan was always free to impose a tariff no less protective than that in force in the States, and in restricting that freedom there could be no co-operation, not even sympathy on the part of the States with

the representatives of the Industrial Powers, such as Great Britain, Germany and France—Great Britain above all—who all had a large export trade to Japan of miscellaneous manufactures which they had no desire to see burdened by oppressive customs dues. While the United States assumed an attitude of paternal benevolence, Japan turned to them with as much filial love and gratitude as it was possible for the children of the divine land to show to any Western people.

All this became changed in 1908. Never was there seen a more striking instance of the mutability of international relations. A stream of Japanese emigration had set in towards California, where labourers, domestic servants, small shop-keepers, artisans and agriculturists were attracted by a delightful climate, abundant openings for their industry, capital and skill, high wages, large profits. By 1908 it was stated that there were over 60,000 Japanese residents in the State, and their frugality and industry served to render them such formidable competitors that they began to be regarded as a menace to the economic well-being of citizens of European descent and mode of life. Nor were they in other respects altogether commendable as citizens. They had no intention of establishing permanent homes. Their objects were to accumulate as much money in as short a time as possible and then return with their gains to their own country. It is true that United States residents in Japan had precisely the same objects, but they were numbered by scores instead of by thousands. The Japanese lower classes are not always orderly, and when struck, unlike the placid Chinamen, have a habit of hitting back with whatever comes to or is in their hands at the moment; and the white labourer did not like being jabbed in the face with the jagged edges of a broken bottle by a yellow Asiatic who wanted to work for longer hours and for less wages than he did. Finally, Japanese children, with what were imagined to be Oriental ideas of decency and morality, were considered unfitting associates for white children in school.

All these circumstances combined to render the Californian people antagonistic to Japanese immigration, and various restrictive measures were passed to check it in the local Legislature. British Columbia had similar experience but on a smaller scale, and the question, though it arose and may arise again with greater strength, did not become so acute as it did in California, which always seemed to offer a more attractive field to the Japanese for their enterprise. The State legislation and the restrictions which it provided produced intense indignation in

Japan, and demands were made on the Government in terms that were anything but mild, in the Parliament, and in the Press and on political platforms, that they should assert the national rights and protest against the indignity that was inflicted on Japan, whose people had the clear right, under the Treaties, of entering and residing both in California and Columbia, without limitation as to occupation or district. The Californian Press and politicians answered in kind; the matter became one of grave embarrassment to the Governments of both the United States and Canada, and a serious international difficulty was threatened. The Central Governments of both were bound by stipulations of the Treaties, while both the State and the Colony enjoyed complete local autonomy and had the fullest powers of legislating for the control of all persons within their limits, though they were subordinate to the Central Government in all Imperial affairs. The matter was temporarily settled by the good sense and conciliatory disposition of the Japanese Government. Canada sent a special mission to Tokyo, and an arrangement was made by which Japan, without abandoning any of her Treaty rights, undertook to impose a limit on the emigration of her subjects; and the arrangement was afterwards extended to the United States.

The friction was renewed in 1913 by further anti-Japanese legislation in California. A Bill was passed, by the terms of which Japanese were forbidden to own real property. They had by this time gained a firm footing in fruit-farming, which is one of California's most valuable industries, and indeed the largest fruit-farmer in the State was said to be a Japanese. The ownership of land is necessary for its economic success, and by forbidding this to aliens it was hoped to oust the Japanese from the industry. There were more outbursts of indignation in Japan—more answers in kind from the States. This time the Central Government championed the action of the State, pointing out that it was taken not on racial but on economic grounds, and that the legislation was legal and justifiable as a necessary measure of defence for Californian citizens against competition which threatened to deprive them of an industry they had created long before the advent of Japanese. No formal settlement of the dispute has been reached, and the whole question still remains open, a possible danger to the good relations of Japan on the one side and of not only the United States but of Great Britain on the other. California has hitherto been its main forefront, but it may extend at any time to British Columbia and even to Australia, both of which are just as averse,

if not even more so, to Japanese immigration on any large scale as is California; and no considerations of Imperial expediency will induce them to abate their antipathy to it by one iota. As in a good many other matters, the Japanese in this do not consider that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. While loudly complaining of the indignity cast upon them by California, they themselves rigidly interdict the immigration into their own country of Chinese or Koreans of the working classes. Here there can be no racial question. The Koreans are their own fellow-subjects of the Emperor, and both the Koreans and the Chinese are akin to them in race, religion, language and in social institutions, and they have 1,600 years of close intercourse to look back upon. None of these considerations interfere with the hard fact that the labourers of both countries would undersell the native Japanese, just as the latter would the white men of California. And so they are debarred from Japan even more completely than are the Japanese from California.

The Californian immigration question has not been the only cause of friction between the two Powers. Japan has steadily consolidated her interests in Manchuria since the close of the Russian War, and has done so more especially since the annexation of Korea. She has pledged herself to preserve China's territorial integrity and what is called the "open door" in commercial matters, by which is meant equal rights and a fair field for all competitors in the markets of China, great already, and capable under good government of extension beyond the dreams of avarice. Japan is, however, wont to place her own interpretation on her pledges. She has given no pledge in regard to Manchuria that she had not previously done in equally unequivocal terms in regard to Korea, and we have seen how it was kept in that case. In Manchuria she has valuable vested interests in railways and mines and general industry. She has the right to maintain strong military guards for their protection and exercises it fully. A stream of emigration, hardly less abundant than that to California, has taken place, and Japanese are now to be found settled all over the province. The manufacturing industry of the United States has in the present century developed so largely that now an abundant surplus is left for export, and kerosene oil is no longer, as it was forty years ago, the single staple of Far Eastern trade in which they are materially interested. They now export large quantities of highly manufactured products, and their greatest potential market for these is in the Far East, especially among the teeming millions of China.

They have therefore watched with jealous eyes Japan's commercial penetration of Manchuria, and have made diplomatic efforts which were designed to secure the establishment in the province of the great principle of equal opportunities for all.

This principle was notably urged in a proposal for the neutralisation of all Manchurian railways, put forward by Mr. Knox, the Secretary of State, in 1908. Japan met not only this proposal but all plans mooted by American and English financiers for railway extension with an implacable negative, and in doing so she received the sympathy and co-operation of Russia. A new Convention was signed at St. Petersburg on July 4, 1910 by which Russia and Japan bound themselves to maintain the *status quo* in Manchuria and to defend their interests in common whenever they were threatened. Since the Great War, Russian influence and power have become bankrupt on the Asiatic littoral of the Pacific, and Japan has grasped the reversion of all Russia's previous claims. The agreement of 1910 was intended to secure to the two Powers equal share in the monopoly of territorial aggrandisement at the expense of helpless China, whenever the opportunity came, to the exclusion of all others. Now Japan is the sole owner of the monopoly, and she is steadily pursuing her aims for its complete realisation.

Senator Knox's proposal fell to the ground ; but the interest of the United States in the commercial future of China is far from dormant. China on her side seems to display a growing tendency to rely more and more on her sister republic across the Pacific for advice and moral support while, in the United States, growing sympathy for the new republic is added to material interest in its welfare. Both combine to render China a very living issue in the policy of the United States Government. Japan and the United States may be said, now that Russia has been erased, to be aspirants for the hegemony of the Pacific, and each watches the other with jealous eyes. In the year 1913 the present writer compared their respective attitudes to each other across the Pacific to those of Great Britain and the German Empire across the North Sea, " outwardly friendly but with a strong undercurrent of mistrust in the militant sections of both nations." These attitudes have remained unchanged in the case of the Pacific Powers.

The growing friction between the United States and Japan caused a modification to be made in the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance. A General Arbitration Treaty was under discussion between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, one of those fantastic chimæras of visionary apostles of

universal peace which crop up at intervals in the world's history and always prove scraps of paper; and the possibility of Great Britain being bound by the Alliance to become an active participant in a war between Japan and the United States proved to be a serious obstacle to the satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations for the Arbitration Treaty. The latter fell to the ground for other reasons, but before it did so a revised Treaty of Alliance was concluded and signed on July 13, 1911, in which, among other modifications and omissions from the Treaty of 1905, it was provided that nothing in the Treaty should entail upon either Contracting Party the obligation to go to war with a third Power with whom a Treaty of General Arbitration is in force. The new Treaty came into force immediately, and so the immediate danger of war between Great Britain and the United States was removed; but the modifications of the old Treaty were received with great disfavour in Japan.

This is the last prominent incident which need be described in the history of the period of Meiji which was now on the eve of its close. On July 30, 1912, the Emperor Mutsu Hito (Gentle Pity) died, at the age of sixty, and in accordance with the law passed at the beginning of his forty-five years' reign, the *nengo* of Meiji died with him. It was, however, kept alive in the memories of the people by being chosen as the posthumous title of the dead Emperor by which he is to be known for all time in history. No better title could be given to him than the *nengo* of his reign, Meiji—Enlightened Government—the happy choice so amply vindicated by everything that had occurred while he was on the throne. No sovereign of any country in any age has ever witnessed in his lifetime so great a transformation as it was his lot to see in that beneath his own sceptre. When he came to the throne as a boy of fifteen it was rent by civil war, bankrupt in finance, impotent against foreign aggression. Its population was composed, on the one side, of haughty, selfish, idle, tyrannic aristocrats and, on the other, of lowly, timorous serfs, hewers of wood and drawers of water, debased by centuries of ruthless civil oppression. When he went to his long sleep, he left behind him one of the Great Empires of the world, with a united population, who were all equal in the eyes of the law, in which the former idle aristocrat had learned to work for the welfare of his beloved country and of the Sovereign whom he worshipped, and the abject serf had developed into the soldier, whose prowess and skill are of the bravest and the best, and who, as a citizen, is keenly conscious of all his civil rights.

The theoretical reverence tendered to the Emperor in all

ages was intensified and converted into a living reality by the spread of the cult of *Bushido* during the Emperor Meiji's reign. For centuries his predecessors, reverenced as they were, were political nullities, but there is no reason to suppose that he, from the time when he reached full manhood, ever fell into this category. He was a man of strong, even obstinate, character, and there were important national crises in which it is known that, when there were differences in his Cabinet, he interfered on the right side and gave his verdict emphatically and without hesitation. No sovereign was ever better served, but none have more merited the best service that devoted and capable ministers and soldiers could render. He had in a marked degree what are perhaps the most valuable attributes in an absolute sovereign, a good judgment of men, a firm confidence in them when chosen, and a memory which forgot neither faces nor facts. His own industry was not less than that of the most laborious of his ministers, and there was little that occurred of which he was not fully informed at the time, while he never failed in what may be called the social duties of a sovereign. Great public functions, the opening of hospitals or schools, of dockyards or arsenals, military reviews, all were in turn honoured with his presence, and all his engagements were punctually observed. His life was clouded with domestic sorrows in the deaths of several of his children, and they had their effect in that he never smiled ; but no smiles were necessary to confirm the love of his people for him. It was as unbounded as was their reverence, and when he died both were manifested by the universal heart-felt mourning of the whole nation. He was a great and a good sovereign.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TAISHO EPOCH

THE Emperor Meiji was succeeded by his only son Yoshihito, who is now the hundred and twenty-second of the long list of the sovereigns of Japan descended in an unbroken line from Jimmu, the first Emperor. No other sovereign on earth has such a lineage. Even if his descent from the sovereigns of the Legendary epoch is disregarded as entirely apocryphal, that from the Emperors of the fifth century of our era is historically true in its most exacting aspects. No other sovereign stands in the same twofold attitude to his people. He is their earthly ruler. He is also the representative on earth of the Gods of Heaven, from whom his ancestors sprang, the spiritual head of the national Church. His prayers, personally offered on behalf of all his subjects, ensure the national salvation. His divine wisdom is a guide that can never fail. His benevolence and love are always present. He is himself a god, a divinity no less sacred to his subjects than Christ is to His followers on earth.

The new Emperor was born on August 21, 1879. On May 10, 1900, following the custom initiated twelve centuries ago under which the Emperors have taken their wives from the Fujiwara, he married the Lady Sadako, a daughter of the Kujo branch of that illustrious family. Three sons have been born from the marriage, so that the succession in the direct line is now well assured. In accordance with the law established at the Restoration, a new *nengo* was chosen, and the period of the present reign will be known in history as that of *Taisho* (" Great Righteousness "). This is the official translation of the term. The two ideographs with which it is written mean, the first, " great," and the second " upright," " true," or " genuine," but however the combination be construed it cannot be otherwise than in a way which should be an auspicious omen of the reign, not less so than " Meiji " proved for that which immediately preceded it.

Over eleven years have passed since the new reign began, years

which have witnessed a great revolution in the world and a complete change in the status of what were its Great Powers. Two of these, which, in 1895, united in humiliating Japan and in robbing her of the spoils of war, fairly won by the blood and sacrifices of her sons, have been brought down into the dust and are now negligible factors in Far Eastern politics, while Japan herself has risen to a height in the councils of the Great Powers that would have seemed beyond the wildest hopes of the brave and capable men who, sixty years ago, started her on her career of modern progress.

The Great War, of course, dwarfs everything that has occurred since Taisho began. It was on August 4, 1914 that Great Britain declared war against Germany. Sixteen years before, Germany had extorted from China the cession of the bay of Kiaochow, with the town of Tsingtao, under the guise of a lease of ninety-nine years. She had long been envious of the colonies of both England and France in the Far East, and the great Kaiser had made many approaches to China for a base from which his influence might manifest itself on the Pacific, as he fondly believed it had already done on the Atlantic. The murder of two German missionaries in a remote part of the province of Shantung in the year 1897 gave him his opportunity, and he demanded the lease as reparation for the murder of his subjects. China was helpless and could not resist. Japan stood aside and watched while she saw Germany acquire Kiaochow and Russia Port Arthur, the two Powers who had, three years previously, expelled her from the Continent as a menace to the peace of the East. She bided her time with the calmness and patience that are the products of Buddhist philosophy. As regards Russia it came in 1904–1905, when unaided, by her own strong arm, she drove the might of the great Empire back from Korea and Manchuria and once more regained the fortress which she had previously won in 1894. In 1914 her time came to deal with Germany. Fate had indeed rewarded her.

In the sixteen years between 1898 and 1914 Germany had expended quite thirty millions sterling on the development of her new acquisition. She had built railways, harbour works, forts, and laid out a new residential town, perfect alike in its design and in its imposing buildings. From a decayed Chinese fishing village it had been converted into a " shining testimony to German culture." No wonder the Kaiser was proud of his beautiful colony, his own child, almost as dear to him as was Berlin itself, and was full of hope of what might come of it. Japan watched this growing menace to herself till August 1914

without a word of protest. Then, when England declared war, the terms of the Treaty of Alliance constrained Japan to join her, to assist her in defending her special interests in Eastern Asia, her colonies, her shipping and her great trade, all menaced by a strong German fleet then in Eastern waters. There was no hesitation on Japan's part. She assumed her responsibilities without any of the ignoble huckstering that was so largely indulged in by European Powers and, after the expiry of a week's ultimatum, declared war on August 23, less than three weeks from the date on which England had done so.

As always, everything was ready in Japan. Within a week Tsingtao was blockaded, within three weeks it was closely invested, and on November 7 the German flag was hauled down and the whole colony surrendered. A small British detachment had co-operated with the Japanese in the siege. Von Spee's fleet was still at large, somewhere in the Pacific. It was chased by Japanese ships past Magellan's Straits into the clutches of Sturdee's squadron in the South Atlantic. The Marshall, Pelew, Caroline and Marianne Islands were taken and the Pacific cleared, through all its vast extent, of the German flag. Then Japanese ships joined the ocean patrols and rendered valuable help in the convoy of the Australian troopships across the Indian Ocean. No troops were sent to Europe; none were asked for, but Japan played to its full her proper fighting part in the Great War. She reaped in still greater fullness her rewards.

She spent little in either blood or treasure, nothing when compared with what the other great belligerent Powers poured forth in both through the long agony of the four years. She experienced no interference with her industries, while those of the other Powers were all concentrated on the production of war material. Far from that, new productive industries sprang into existence to exploit the fields left vacant by the Western Powers, and they soon began to riot in prosperity in China, India, Australia, South Africa and South America, even in Europe itself. Japan obtained a footing in markets where her goods had never been seen before. She began to furnish in large quantities commodities for which the world had hitherto looked only to Great Britain and Germany, and money poured into the country in tens of millions. She was a debtor in finance and trade when the War began. At its close she was a large creditor in both respects. Her gold reserve was more than sextupled. Her exports largely exceeded her imports. She had taken a prominent place in the front rank of the ocean-carriers of the world. She, only a generation ago tottering on the verge of

national bankruptcy, had helped to finance Great Britain, once the financier of the world. She had become a great financial and economic Power.

She has acquired a mandate for the control of the Pacific Islands which were taken by her ships, and that means that she has practically become their owner. She has pursued her peaceful penetration of Manchuria without interference, extending her firm grasp not only over Southern but over Northern Manchuria, planting her garrisons everywhere with the ostensible object of protecting her economic interests. These garrisons are, it is said, to be withdrawn or reduced during the next three years, but it is idle to close eyes to established facts; and when the day comes on which Japan may decide to proclaim openly the ownership of the great province which is already hers in reality, there will be none willing or able to gainsay her any more than there was when she annexed Korea.

She is now a different Power to what she was when she bowed to the dictation of the Three Powers in 1895. Two of the three are temporarily extinct; the third is worn and exhausted by her own struggle for existence. Japan, secure in her own Islands, amidst the most storm-swept seas in the world, guarded by army and fleet that are both as efficient as they are strong, can bid defiance to any combination of Western Powers that can ever be united against her, and follow the dictates of her ambition unharassed by any thought of what other Powers might do or say. She might in a war with a great sea-power temporarily lose her foreign trade, but, though she would suffer, she could live without it. She can furnish, temporarily at least, from her own resources all the absolute necessaries of her life; and what Power is there on earth that could transport to the Far East an army sufficient to expel her from her continental colonies ?

She has, as already said, made herself the mistress of two Chinese provinces. Her agents are now found in Mongolia and are already preparing her way there. The definition of the Spanish policy of territorial aggrandisement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been given in a previous chapter. Japan's policy in the twentieth century somewhat resembles it. She does not use missionaries—though missionaries of at least one of the great churches of Japanese Buddhism have opened a field in the United States—but she sends commercial agents to prospect. They are followed by consuls. Police are soon found necessary to guard the consuls and then troops to protect both, and the troops require fortified strategic bases. In all

the later stages of this progress, new lines of railway are steadily pushed forward. This is Japan's system of peaceful penetration. Its operation has been evident both in Korea and in Manchuria.

In the Treaty of Alliance of 1905 Great Britain acknowledged Japan's paramount political, military and economic interests in Korea, and within five years from the date of that Treaty, almost to the day, Korea was formally added to the dominions of the Japanese Empire. Neither Great Britain nor the United States, the only Western Powers who are still factors that need be considered by Japan in the affairs of the Far East, has as yet openly recognised any paramount interest of hers in China. But she claims it for herself. On January 18, 1915, when the European Powers were at each other's throats, but before the United States had entered the War, the Japanese Minister at Peking without any preliminary warning delivered to the President of the Republic of China a communication embodying what has since come to be known as the Five-Group Demands. The Five Groups comprised twenty-one specific demands. Space does not permit their recapitulation in this volume, and it must be sufficient to state that if all had been yielded, the result would have been the establishment by Japan of a military and economic protectorate which must have eventually given her a monopoly of commercial interests in China and enabled her, so far as she chose to do so, effectually to bar the door against Western trade or influence. In no part of China would this monopoly have in time become more complete than in the Valley of the Yangtsze, which has always been regarded as a special sphere of British trade, with potentialities far transcending the actualities of the present. The demands were not made with candour nor with a due observation of the obligations to consult Great Britain by which Japan bound herself in her Treaty of Alliance. They were presented to China in secret, and secrecy was enjoined on the recipient with threats of drastic penalties should it not be observed. When, at last, information of what had occurred was very tardily communicated to Great Britain, it was incomplete and inaccurate, in that the clauses which most vitally affected British interests were deliberately suppressed.

The demands did not fructify in their entirety, but they have procured new footholds for commercial and political development, and they are an index of Japanese ambitions in regard to China which conveys a lesson and a warning for the future. What Great Britain did in India, Japan visions for herself in China.

China was a great and historic Empire. It is now a very young Republic, with a corrupt, disorganised and disunited Government, as incapable of defending itself against foreign aggression as the Empire was in the days of the opium war. Japan means to set all in order, to establish her protectorate as completely and efficiently as she has done in Korea, and to reap the rewards which she will have earned by her energy, strength and statesmanship. She means to be not only the Great Power of the East, where her will will be the only law, but a Great Power of the world, the might of whose name shall everywhere be known and respected even if not feared. She has joined the League of Nations, and so must in honour show herself an apostle and champion of the peace of the world, always respecting the rights and security of weak or small Powers. But even if the League were not the illusory dream of benevolent optimists who are altogether out of place in this materialistic world, even if it had not been damned by the apostasy of its own father's country at its genesis, Japan will, while strictly honourable in fulfilling her obligations, always place her own construction on the terms of her bonds. She will maintain the open door and equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in the great field that China presents, but no obligation to do so need interfere with the paternal aid which she will give to her own citizens in such method and abundance as might render competition impossible on the part of other nationalities. She will have everything her own that China can give.

Universal disarmament is one of the blessings to humanity that the League of Nations is supposed to bring in its train. Japan, after signing the Covenant, devoted herself to the extension of her military and naval strength with all the energy and with little of the secrecy in her policy with which she prepared for her struggle with Russia a generation ago. In 1877, when the Satsuma Rebellion took place, Japan had a trained army of, on its war footing, 46,000 men. In 1894, when the war with China occurred, she had an army which, when fully mobilised, in all its details, both for field and fortress services, numbered 220,000 men. Ten years later the war with Russia took place. Japan then had an army of 180,000 men with the colours, a first reserve of 200,000 and a second reserve of 470,000 men, all highly-trained soldiers. During the war 570,000 recruits were called up, and altogether, including camp-followers of all grades, nearly one and a half million men were landed on the Continent. To-day Japan's army, according to the very modest totals given in the published statistics, consists of

250,000 men with the colours and a fully-trained reserve of 618,000. But there is no secrecy at all in the fact that recent reforms in organisation are intended to give Japan in the year 1930 a fully-trained army of four and a half millions, recruited entirely from her own sons, without drawing in any way on the splendid raw material which she already has in Korea and may have, in far less than a decade, in Manchuria and Mongolia.

The development of her navy proceeded apace with that of her army, and as a world naval power, after making all the reductions provided in the Washington pact, Japan is inferior only to Great Britain and the United States, while in her own seas she is as invincible as she is on land.

Let us now see how Japan is increasing the expenditure on her fighting services. Her national revenue has grown from 230 million yen in 1904, the year of the outbreak of the war with Russia, to 1,585 million in 1921–22. Her military and naval expenditure in 1904 was 70 million yen, less than one-third of her revenue. Its estimate for the financial year 1921–22 was 765 million yen, of which that for the army was 263 millions and the navy 502 millions, roughly speaking half of the entire national expenditure for the year and nearly threefold the whole national expenditure at the beginning of the current century, when preparations were already in active progress for the great war with Russia. The great reduction which has since taken place in the naval programme, consequent on the Washington pact, will have effected a corresponding reduction in naval expenditure, but it will still be maintained on a scale worthy of a country whose sea power is vital to its safety and dignity.

In increasing her *matériel* Japan does not overlook the development of her *moral*. Her military education is as complete in all its details as it seems humanly possible for a system to be. *Bushido*—" The Precepts of Knighthood "—is a modern product, so very modern that the present writer cannot now recollect ever having heard the word mentioned during a residence of over thirty years in Japan, in constant association the whole time with the military and official classes. It is not mentioned in any dictionary, in any of the works of Satow, Aston, Brinkley or Chamberlain, nor in any of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, published prior to 1900. Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*, the most interesting encyclopedia of expert information on Japan that has ever been issued in a Western language, does not mention it in the third revised

edition issued in 1898. But it has been elevated to the degree of a new religion, and it has served its purpose. It has concentrated on the Emperor all the unselfish devotion that was formerly rendered by the samurai to their feudal lords, and it has imbued the abject, timorous serf of pre-Restoration days with the spirit of the samurai, that fears nothing and is ready to face death or wounds in the most painful forms at any moment and without a tremor. It has served to create the most militaristic people in the world, before whom the arrogant pride of the Prussian Junker and the unquestioning obedience of his disciplined followers fade into insignificance.

Education, as organised in Japan, maintains and increases the military spirit. It is not devoted to inculcating pacificism as with us. From the very earliest years in the primary schools military drill is obligatory while, in the higher schools, military uniform is worn and rifle-practice is assiduously followed. In summer whole schools perform long marches of several days' duration among the hills, all in military array with fifes, drums, rifles and knapsacks, the boys who are too young to shoulder or use a rifle carrying wooden dummies with which they go through the manual drill along with their seniors. Morally, the example of bygone heroes is always held up before them, and the greatest of all lessons is impressed upon them at all times that it is their duty to die for the Emperor whenever and wherever called upon. Such training makes them already soldiers with a high sense of military duty before they are called upon to join the ranks, and it places Japan with her millions of highly-trained youths, always fit and ready for anything, in the front rank of the military Powers of the world. What other is there, now that Germany and Russia are gone and France exhausted, that can compare with her ? To talk of such a people being restricted from the attainment of what they consider their legitimate aspirations can be fitly characterised only as the vainest of political inanities.

Japan has only one danger confronting her. The friction that has taken place between her and her great neighbour across the Pacific has been already referred to in the preceding chapter. It seemed to be smoothed over in 1913, but the War and its results brought about its revival in an acute form. Japan seemed to have seized not only the Northern Provinces of China but also the whole of the maritime province of Eastern Siberia, the great tract that lies along the Pacific littoral from Nikolaievsk to Vladivostok. It was the United States Government that gave an opportunity to Japan by

proposing a joint expedition for the rescue of the Czechs from the terrors of the advancing Bolsheviks. The proposal was accepted; but where the United States sent one soldier, the Japanese sent ten. There were continuous "incidents" between the two armies, and they ended in the Americans withdrawing in disgust, temporarily leaving a free hand to their rivals. The Japanese, at the close of 1922, were also withdrawing their large army of occupation, and the maritime province is now again in the hands of its own people; but for a time they displayed little inclination to surrender what seemed to be an easy and valuable acquisition, and the western States of the Union saw looming before them the prospect of being shut out for ever from a real share in the great trade of Eastern Asia. The prospect was not viewed with equanimity, and it added to the still existing racial and economic grounds for the prohibition of Japanese immigration and stirred up new animosity on both sides.

On the one side, Japan is indignant that her citizens should be denied complete racial and economic equality with other immigrants to the western States, and that at the same time the Central Government should threaten to bar her legitimate expansion on the Continent of Asia. On the other side, the United States are beginning to see in Japan, their dear foster-child of a generation ago, an aggressive, ambitious and unscrupulous Power, saturated with militarism, in their domestic politics under the heel of an autocratic military party, already in possession of bases in the newly-acquired islands of the Pacific that may constitute a serious threat not only to the Philippines but even to the shores of the western States of the Union. Seeing all this, Washington is beginning to feel not unsympathetic with San Francisco in its unreadiness to welcome Japanese as citizens with all the rights of unhampered immigration, land-ownership, and nationalisation, that are freely accorded to white men of every race.

All Japanese are, of course, not extreme chauvinists. A vivid lesson has been afforded by Germany of the results of unbridled military ambition. But is the civilian element in the Government strong enough to resist the military, or has the military profited by the lesson sufficiently to yield to the common sense and prudence of the civilian and be content to see their country progress in peace? These are questions that can only be solved by time.

Behind Japan's great military organisation lies the most complete and efficient bureaucracy in all the world. The Govern-

ment of Japan, while nominally monarchic slightly leavened with constitutionalism, is in reality bureaucratic, and the control of the bureaucracy extends far beyond its legitimate sphere, as exemplified in other countries, into the realms of trade, industry and finance, all of which benefit, in their several degrees, by the supervision and encouragement bestowed on them by the Government. In this chapter we need only refer to the civil administration of the Empire. It is in the hands of officials whose sole passport to their entry into the public service and their promotion when in it is to be found in their own ability and industry. Nepotism does exist, no doubt. How could it fail when human nature is as it is? It is, however, reduced to a minimum, and the most nobly-born youth in the land has to pass precisely the same tests as the most lowly commoner who has struggled through his university course on a pittance that just provides the humblest necessaries of life.

Education in its higher branches is largely specialised and, just as a youth enters the army already a trained soldier, so does the young civil servant enter his department already well equipped with an expert knowledge of the subjects that are to come within his ken during his career. It may be safely said that there is not a single subject that could occur in the ordinary course of human affairs, whether domestic or international, no matter how rare or how abstruse, that an expert, thoroughly competent to deal with it, could not be found at once somewhere in the ranks of the bureaucracy. There is hardly a civilised language on earth that is not fluently spoken by someone on the staff of the Foreign Office. Ireland is a subject which it is scarcely possible to imagine can ever interest Japan except academically or as a *tu quoque* should Great Britain ever have the effrontery to reproach her for her methods in Korea; but the present writer has met Japanese who have a far more intimate knowledge of Irish history, Irish economics and Irish sociology than is possessed by educated Englishmen, even by members of the Legislature who are not Irishmen. What a contrast to the bureaucracy which guards the interests of the British Empire! British material and political interests in the Far East are second only to those in the United States, and yet how many permanent officials are there in all the length and breadth of Whitehall who can read a simple letter written in Japanese or Chinese, interpret or even understand a simple sentence in the vernacular, or answer, offhand, a question on any esoteric subject, art perhaps excepted, connected with either country?

Reference has been made to the prospects of Japan's colonial

expansion in the future. A few words must now be devoted to her administration of the colonies already in her possession, comprising Korea, Formosa and the south parts of Liao Tung and Sakhalin. To all she has, it is quite safe to say, brought material prosperity, and she has developed in them the institutions of modern civilisation, by which she has so much benefited herself, which were previously entirely absent. Her methods have been harsh, no doubt, but, when the balance is struck, there is a large surplus to Japan's credit and to the advantage of the people. She has given her best brains, her experience, her industry to them, and during the earlier years of her occupancy she advanced money freely for their benefit. Now they are paying their way, and Japan has proved to the world that she is not wanting in the colonising faculty. Nor is there any reason why she should be. Two thousand five hundred years ago her own people were all colonists, and their direct descendants need not have entirely lost the colonising any more than they did the military instincts of that remote period.

Japan has, however, been unfortunate in one respect, and her failure is especially apparent in Korea, the most important and extensive of her colonies. She had there to outlive the reputation bequeathed by Hideyoshi's ruthless soldiers; but that might have been done by government as gentle as it was good, and Korea might have been bound to her by bonds of love far stronger than the military chains by which she has been fettered. It has been told already how the capital and ports of Korea when they were first opened were invaded by the scum of Japan's rowdies, bullies and adventurers. When, twenty years later, the whole country became open, the invasion was repeated on a greater scale and with worse results. No check was imposed by either officials or police. Neither the Japanese subordinate civil official nor the policeman is wholly free from the Prussian spirit. Both believe in themselves, that no matter what they do they can never be wrong, and that their first duty is towards their own fellow-countryman, who is to be supported, no matter what he does, against all aliens; and Koreans are still aliens. Roads, railways, docks, banks, schools, hospitals, model farms and factories, sanitation, posts, telegraphs, have all been given to them, and the whole face of their country has been changed for the better. But all these benefits have been accompanied by an orgy of tyranny, and the result is that Korea is now the Ireland of Japan. The comparison between the two is pathetic. It is in one respect much in favour of Japan, as while in the old days English policy was to crush Irish industry out of

existence, and it is only within the last few years that the old spirit displayed its final manifestation on the part of English manufacturers, Japan has done everything that is in her power to promote Korean industry, and her success is beyond all cavil. But she has stifled every semblance of civil liberty: she has ruled a people who are gentle, lovable, dignified, peaceful even to meekness, with rods of iron. She has driven them, long-suffering as they are, into frequent outbreaks of violence, which have been repressed by slaughter and burnings, and the result is that she is as much hated to-day as she was when Hideyoshi's army withdrew from its scene of desolation and ruin. It is not for Great Britain, with her long record of failure in Ireland, to throw stones at her. But sorrow can be felt that this one stain should exist on an otherwise almost spotless record of marvellous progress in all the elements that combine to constitute a nation's greatness, and that have in the short space of two generations made Japan a great Power of the world.

CHAPTER XIX

1921–1922

THE last two years of Taisho have witnessed some incidents in both the domestic and foreign history of Japan which are pregnant with significance of the future that is far from trivial. During the summer of 1921, the Emperor, who, throughout his life, from early boyhood, has never been physically strong, began to fail so much in health that he was no longer capable of taking the important and extensive share in the administration, which the constitution has reserved for the throne and, in accordance with the terms of the law of the Imperial House, the Regency of the Empire was assumed by the Imperial Crown Prince, Prince Hirohito.

Prince Hirohito, the eldest son of the Emperor, was born on April 29, 1901, and proclaimed Crown Prince and heir to the throne on September 9, 1912. He holds commissions in both the army and navy and, before his assumption of the regency, he made an extensive tour in Europe, visiting Great Britain, France and other countries that shared in the Alliance in the Great War. During his tour he manifested keen powers of observation, quick apprehension and retentive memory of all that he saw, abundant self-confidence, and the frank, genial and happy courtesy that is an element in the character of all the Imperial Princes no less prominent than in that of our own Royal Family. It is fortunate for the world that he has his grandfather's example before him, that he has also that of the ex-Kaiser, and that he promises to be in all his attributes a worthy and capable ruler of a great people, who has learned that war can be the cause of almost as great misery to the victors as to the vanquished and who will never wantonly provoke its perils and suffering.

Two of Japan's greatest statesmen, two of the last survivors of the historic Genro, who exercised a profound influence in the military and civil development of their country, died early

in 1922. Both were emphatically great leaders of thought and action and both may be said to have been representative, in their different capacities, of Japan's ambition as an expanding Power. Prince Yamagata was the apostle of military autocracy in times of peace as well as of war, and it was the Marquis Okuma who, as Premier, in February 1915, when all the thought and energy of European Powers were absorbed in the Great War and Far Eastern affairs were beyond their ken, secretly flung at China, without even giving to Great Britain the notice of what he had done that was obligatory under the specific terms of the Alliance, the notorious twenty-one demands, which were intended to reduce China to a status of absolute vassalage to Japan. Their deaths now leave only one survivor—the Marquis Matsugata of Satsuma—of the original Genro, the elder statesmen to whom Japan owes her modern regeneration and her recognition as the political equal of the great Powers of the world.

On November 4, 1921, Hara Takashi, the Premier, the first commoner (*heimin*) to attain the highest administrative post, under the throne, in the Empire since Hideyoshi, was added to the long rôle of statesmen who, in all ages of Japan's history, have fallen at assassins' hands.

The new Prime Minister, Viscount Takahashi, is, like his murdered predecessor, a commoner and a self-made man. He is recognised as an anti-militarist, an advocate of peace and of economic rather than political expansion, and is a democrat, inheriting the constitutional principles which guided his great predecessor, Prince Ito.

In 1921 Japan accepted the invitation of the President of the United States to a Conference to discuss the limitation of arms, the problems of the Pacific and the principles and policies of the Far East. The accredited representatives of the four great Powers of the world, who are materially interested in the Far East, the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan, all met at Washington, and the Conference was formally opened on the 12th of November in that year. Great Britain, in eagerly taking her part in it, may be said to have been mainly influenced by two motives: one to be able to place a limit on the cost of naval expansion; and secondly, to find some means of gracefully modifying her obligations under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

The Alliance was originally formed against Russia, when in her full tide of Eastern aggression, and when the war of 1904–5 eliminated the bugbear of Russia, Germany seemed likely to

take her place as a disturbing factor in Far Eastern politics. The Alliance was accordingly continued with a wisdom and prudence that were amply repaid by the valuable contribution which Japan, in honourable observance of its terms, made to the victory of the Allies in the Great War. The results of that war reduced Germany and Russia into negligible factors in international councils for at least a decade to come, and the original objects of the Alliance therefore ceased to exist. It had, on the other hand, become a source of offence to the United States, between whom and Japan there was frequent and irritating friction; and no assurances on the part of Great Britain, no matter how emphatic, that the United States were entirely outside the scope of its terms were able to disabuse a large section of the United States people of the conviction that it was meant to be used to their injury in the case of war between them and Japan. A large section of the Japanese, on their side, began to regard the Alliance, under the new conditions of the East, not as a safeguard but as a very objectionable restraint on their own national expansion, and as such condemned it without reservation. The knowledge that it could in no circumstances aid them against the United States gave the final coup to its value in their eyes. Its continuance placed Great Britain between the devil and the deep sea as a cause of offence to the two Powers, with both of whom her national safety demanded that she should be on good terms. The fact that its abolition would remove from Japan the obligation to respect Great Britain's Eastern colonies or to consult any interests but her own in whatever she chose to do in their furtherance in China or elsewhere was lost to view, and press and public in England demanded the abrogation of the treaty in terms no less strong than those used by the military Jingoes of Japan.

This is not the place in which to detail the deliberations of the Conference. Its full story will no doubt be told by competent writers in due course. Here it must be sufficient to say that its sittings continued till February 7, 1922, and two important quadruple agreements were concluded. One, popularly known as "The Four Powers Pact," signed on December 13, 1921, abrogated the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and provided for the preservation of peace for at least ten years by binding the four Powers to respect, as between themselves, their rights in their insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific Ocean; to refer controversies between themselves to a joint conference, and to communicate frankly with each other as

to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or separately, if those rights should be threatened by the aggressive action of any other Power. The second agreement imposed drastic limitations on the number of battleships of the front line that were to be retained out of their existing fleets by each of the three predominant naval Powers and fixed " a naval holiday " as regards the building of new battleships for ten years.

These pacts and a third Treaty, also signed at Washington, known as the "Nine-Power Treaty," to which China, Holland, Belgium, Portugal and Italy are also parties, should have, when finally ratified by all the signatories, very important results to Japan. Her Treaty with Great Britain automatically lapses. She is relieved from the burden of a costly naval competition with the United States, for which her financial resources totally unfit her. She is unfettered in the continued development of her great army, the cheapest as it is the most efficient in the world; she is guaranteed the undisturbed possession of her outlying islands. She has had to withdraw from her occupation of Shantung (Great Britain also withdraws from Wei Hai Wei), but retains there very substantial economic advantages, and, though she has now withdrawn her troops from Vladivostok, she continues undisturbed in Manchuria, Liao Tung, and Sakhalin. She withdraws her post-offices from China, but the twenty-one demands still remain in full force, under the guarantee of a Treaty that was extorted from China at the cannon's mouth in May 1915. She is forbidden to fortify her Mandatory Islands in the Pacific, which command strategically the ocean route from America to the Philippines and Southern Asia; but there is nothing to prevent her surrounding these islands with mines and making them the secure bases of large fleets of sea-going submarines which could, at any time, play havoc with all the shipping on the Northern Pacific. Both as a belligerent and an economic Power, she is the stronger for these provisions, and her status among the great Powers is the more firmly consolidated.

She may be trusted to observe her Treaty obligations in all honour. An influential section of her people advocated the denunciation of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty in 1916, when it was thought that Germany was going to win the war, but her Emperor and Government were firm and faithful to her bond. Treaties are, however, after all only " scraps of paper," and have in history not infrequently been dealt with as such when the strongest of the parties to them found their strict observance no longer compatible with national interests. Even Great

Britain's hands in this respect are not spotless. Russia broke the Black Sea Treaty, Germany the Belgian, when it suited them; and the history of United States Treaties with the Indians is not altogether a clean one. If Japan, while honourably recognising all her obligations, places her own interpretations on the strict terms of the Treaties in which they are defined, and furthers her policy of expansion on the continent of Asia, who among Western nations is sufficiently without sin to cast a stone at her? And, still more important, who among them is sufficiently prepared to exercise force against her? Her position as a fighting power in the East is absolutely unassailable, even by the United States, even by a combination of Powers. The Philippines are held as much on her sufferance as is Hong Kong. There is no place in the Western Pacific, north of the Equator, in which Japan, with her present strength and transport, could not land an army of one hundred thousand men within one month from the day she decided on war; and who is to oppose such a force? Not even the United States, whose nearest fortified base is in Honolulu, 3,000 miles away, her communications exposed throughout the whole of this distance to flank attacks from possible submarines issuing in formidable numbers from the Mandatory Islands.

Will it, or will it not, be to the advantage of the whole world that Japan should have a free hand in the Far East and be permitted to realise the ambition of centuries and assume over all China the control which Great Britain has exercised for a century and a half over India? It is true that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the open door in China are all provided for in the Nine-Power Treaty; but so were they also in the case of Korea in the Anglo-Japanese Treaty; and Korea is now part of the Japanese Empire. China's military impotence, her utter domestic chaos and the incurable corruption of her Government make one despair of all hope of her regeneration. For centuries her story has been the same under her long succession of Emperors: it has become worse under a Republic, where every man seems to be for himself and none for the State. And what are the possibilities, under a good Government, of four hundred million people, intelligent, industrious, honest beyond all others, law-abiding, frugal, patient and sober? The Japanese might skim the cream for themselves, but generations of industrial development must pass before they could satisfy all China's increasing requirements, and enough would be left to absorb the surplus output of all the factories of the industrial Western world, to refound a solvent Germany, and

to make unemployment in Great Britain the ugly dream of a dark past.

Friendship with the United States is the cardinal element in Great Britain's foreign policy. Friendship with Japan, firm, fast, continuing, is little less necessary to her for the preservation of her Eastern Empire and her Far Eastern trade, and if it is not maintained Japan may, when the decade of the two Pacts is over, accept from a restored Germany what she has sought in vain from Great Britain, just as she was on the point of forming an alliance with Russia when, in 1902, Great Britain was still hesitating over her first Treaty.

B—ECONOMICS

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION[1]

Economic, as compared with political, history is usually regarded as dull and as appealing only to the few; but the story that has been already told in this volume of the beginning of Japan's intercourse with Europe in the middle of the sixteenth century shows that romance seems to be an element which cannot in any incident be completely severed from her, and even the story of her foreign trade is far from being destitute of romantic incidents. When Elizabeth was on the throne of England and English sailors were ravaging Spanish settlements in America and sweeping the richly-laden Spanish galleons off the Western seas, Japanese sailors, equally skilful, adventurous and unscrupulous, were the terror of the Far Eastern seas, both as traders, who took no refusal, and as pirates who showed no mercy. But in their own islands the Japanese were full of hospitality. Europeans who came there—Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch and English—all in their turn were cordially welcomed. Trade prospered and returned enormous profits to the European adventurers, and there seemed to be a future full of promise.

It was blighted by the political results of ill-judged missionary

[1] In all the tables in this section the figures of aggregate quantities and values, whether in sterling or in Japanese currency, are, unless where specifically stated to be otherwise, to be taken as representing thousands. They are, with a few exceptions, taken from the official statistical publications of the Japanese Government. The normal sterling value of the yen, which is the standard unit of Japanese currency, is 2*s.* 0½*d.*; but the circumstances of international exchange during the years 1919–21 gave it an enhanced value, which may be roughly taken at an average of 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1922, it fell to a fraction less than 2*s.* 2*d.* The figures of the values in the earlier years—1869–72—represent Mexican dollars, then the universal currency of the Far East, the exchange value of which fluctuated from 4*s.* 9*d.* to 4*s.* 3*d.* Both dollars and yen are here used as a common denominator, regardless of their varying values, to indicate the progress made in the aggregate of Japan's foreign trade. Of the measures of weight that are used in the tables, the *koku* is equivalent to 4·96 bushels; the *kwan* to 8·27 lb. avoirdupois; the *kin* to 1·32 lb. avoirdupois; and the *momme* to 2·11 drams.

It is stated that in future trade-statistics will be issued in metric measure.

enterprise. In a moment, as it were, all was changed. Japan barred herself against intercourse with the outward world, and her long period of isolation began. Trade was at an end. Her maritime enterprise was killed. Her sailors, restricted to unseaworthy craft of, at the largest, fifty tons, could not venture beyond their own shores and lost all their old ocean skill. It was not till nearly 230 years later that, sorely against her will, Europeans were once more admitted to reside and trade within her borders, and she started on the career which was destined to make her a great commercial as well as a great military Power.

During this interval her only association with the Western world was through the Dutch in Nagasaki, to whom she had granted the monopoly of her foreign trade. This monopoly was enjoyed throughout her long isolation, and it was a source of enormous profit both to the Dutch East India Company at large and to its individual members who were its representatives in Japan. What has already been told of the abject submission to exacting and humiliating conditions under which these profits were earned is but the very faint reflex of one of the most sordid chapters in the history of the Christian world. That of the Dutch factory in Japan, originating in treachery and deceit, was true to its origin throughout its whole record, and the contempt into which everything connected with trade fell during the régime of the Tokugawa Shoguns owed not a little to the scorn engendered in the minds of men, to whom death was always preferable to dishonour, by the unworthy agents of its foreign branch, the only European traders with whom Japan held any intercourse. The wretched details of the whole story are relieved by one interesting historical incident. In 1810 Holland was annexed by Napoleon to the French Empire, and ceased to exist as an independent kingdom; but the factory in Japan was forgotten alike by conquerors and conquered. No ship was sent to it, and its members remained in ignorance of the great events that were occurring in far distant Europe. During four years, until the fall of Napoleon restored the mother country to independence, the Dutch flag was daily hoisted in the factory; and this was the one and only spot in the whole of the wide world in which it was flying. It is not difficult to imagine the eager look-out that must have been kept by the imprisoned traders in the little island, scarcely a couple of acres in area, in which their exile was passed, for the ship that never came, their homesick longing, and the daily disappointment of their hopes of release. Great indeed must have been the gains that could compensate for such a banishment.

It was on July 1, 1859 that the Treaties of commerce and friendship, signed by the Diplomatic Representatives of the United States and Great Britain in the previous year, came into force, and Japan was opened to the trade and residence of the citizens of both Powers. Then the long monopoly of the Dutch at last came to an end, and trade began between Japan and the West on equal terms, unhampered by legal restrictions on the part of officials on either side.

On the appointed day a small army of commercial adventurers, mainly British and American, all eager to exploit the land of whose wealth they had heard stories that rivalled the most extraordinary fables of the *Arabian Nights*, landed at Yokohama, the place appointed for their residence by the Japanese authorities, then a collection of huts that it was difficult to dignify with the name of a fishing village. And then began a decade of martyrdom for the proud and ancient Empire of the Eastern Seas.

The Japanese were as ignorant of all the elements of European thought and life as they were of its material civilisation. They had signed treaties containing provisions whose effect they failed to appreciate at the time they did so. The Europeans who thronged to their shores were equally ignorant of Japan and everything that concerned it. They included among them representatives of long-established firms in China whose honour and conduct were above reproach, but the majority were far from being of a class of whom either Great Britain or the United States can now be proud—greedy, unscrupulous, aggressive, saturated with the overweening contempt for all Asiatics that has always been a characteristic of the vulgar and ignorant among the citizens of Great Britain, quite incapable of estimating, still less of appreciating, the qualities of the people among whom they had come, and especially of the proud, high-spirited, aristocratic governing classes among them. They had one thought and one only in their heads, money, to be acquired by fair trade if it may be, but in any case money. They were described by their own officials at the time as the scum of the West. And as to the Treaty Powers, it was in the days of Asiatic grab, and at least one among them thought Japan afforded a new chance of adding to her Far Eastern acquisitions.

If the European traders who now settled themselves at Yokohama were not all that could be desired, the Japanese traders with whom they were brought in contact soon proved to be almost everything that should not be desired. Although trade had been long under a stigma as a degraded and sordid occupa-

tion, and traders were in the social scale the lowest of the four classes of society, there were, even in those days, great historic commercial families whose integrity was unimpeachable but whose pride forbade them to associate with the hated and despised European, and whose timidity equally forbade them to risk in new enterprises capital that was securely and profitably placed in conservative investments. They, therefore, held entirely aloof from the foreign market which was just opened, and in their absence it was left to be exploited by the most degraded members of a degraded class, whose methods quickly brought upon all Japanese traders an unsavoury reputation from which they have not as yet, not even at this day, entirely recovered. Sir Rutherford Alcock, the first British Envoy to Japan—so little was thought of Japan by the Foreign Office of the time that he was originally accredited as Consul-General—in *The Capital of the Tycoon*, the herald of all the immense library of books that have since been issued on Japan, and still one of the most interesting of all, says :

"The Japanese traders rank among the most dishonest and tricky of Easterns . . . incessant examples of the most ingenious and deliberate fraud leave no doubt on the subject. Bales of silk are continually sold with outward hanks of one quality and the inner ones of coarser material most craftily interwoven. Jars of camphor with the top only of the genuine article and the rest powdered rice. Tubs of oil, the lower half water. Money taken for contracts and immediately appropriated and unblushingly confiscated. . . . The Japanese far surpass us in ingenuity and universality of cheating."

These are the comments [1] on the commercial morality of Japan in the early days of her foreign intercourse by a Minister of exceptional ability, of keen powers of observation and of long experience in the East. Many of our Eastern merchants will say that the same comments could have been made till very recent years, and it will be seen from what is told below that, even to-day, Japanese commercial and industrial morality is not wholly free from adverse criticism.

With all this lurid description, Sir Rutherford Alcock admits

[1] They were written in the year 1863 after four years' experience of Japanese traders. The present writer remembers seeing, six years later, a large purchase of silk in which, on examination, leaden nuggets, each weighing some ounces, were found to be very skilfully hidden in the knot of every hank, diminishing its value by a substantial percentage. At the same time, with all that has been and is being written about the lack of common honesty in Japanese traders, the writer would be very sorry to draw comparisons to their disfavour between them and their English confrères. Personally, he was more defrauded by tradesmen in the first five years of his residence in England than he was in the aggregate of his thirty years' residence in Japan

that Japanese morality, either commercially or in general, was in the aggregate not very inferior to our own. The European pioneers of trade, who have been described, have naturally left no very savoury reputation behind them, and nothing that we can say of the early Japanese traders can surpass that which the Japanese both say and think of ours. And they have much fair ground for doing so. Two forms of fraud were facilitated by two extraordinarily short-sighted clauses in the Treaty:

1. The Japanese Government will for the period of one year furnish British subjects with Japanese coin in exchange for theirs, equal weight being given and no discount for exchange.
2. The Customs may, if dissatisfied with the value placed on imports by the importer, fix their own value, but should the importer refuse to accept this, then the Customs must take over the goods at the value fixed by them.

A very few days' experience was required to find out that the relative values of silver and gold in Japan were wholly fictitious. In all the rest of the world, even in China, only forty-eight hours' steaming distance from the nearest shores of Japan, the ratio was roughly as one to fifteen. In Japan it was one to five, and silver was over-valued therefore to the extent of two-thirds above the average ratio which silver bullion bears to gold in the general markets of the world. The effect of the Treaty upon such a currency became apparent at once, and foreign merchants greedily seized the opportunity that was given to them. It was only in human nature that they should do so. They imported Mexican dollars from Shanghai, changed them weight for weight into Japanese silver currency and, with the silver thus obtained, bought one-third of its weight in gold. In other words, with silver that cost less than six shillings in Shanghai they bought gold in Japan that was subsequently sold in Shanghai for eighteen shillings, the whole transaction not necessarily occupying more than six weeks, hardly even that. A perfect orgy of exchange transactions took place amongst the foreigners; even naval officers hurriedly resigned their commissions and started as brokers on shore in order to share in it, and the country was threatened with denudation of its entire supply of gold. The Government vainly tried various remedies. They would only change so much for each individual applicant: applications with fictitious names at once poured in upon them. Then only a percentage of the amount in each application could be given: immediately applications were made for millions or billions. Finally, in desperation, they were driven to the re-adjustment of the relative values of their own currency and to

bring them on a par with those in the rest of the world. This stopped the export of gold and, so far, was a benefit to the nation; but it inflicted great loss and suffering on the people who suddenly found the silver in their possession reduced to one-third of its former value while, at the same time, there was a general rise in the prices of all the necessaries of life in consequence of the demand that had arisen for their export accompanied, as yet, by no increase in their normal production.

The exploitation of the currency clause in the Treaty by European traders amounted to nothing more than sharp practice, which, costly though it was to the Japanese nation while it lasted, soon came to an end. But the second clause, which is summarised above, afforded an opportunity, which was often taken, for deliberate fraud, and its ill effects were of longer duration. Officials were ignorant of the real values of European goods, and the *ad valorem* duties provided in the tariff had to be levied on those presented by the importer. These never erred on the side of excess and not infrequently were fraudulently deceptive. A small part of a cargo of valuable mining machinery, for example, direct from England, was slightly rusted by sea-water that had leaked through from the deck, and the whole was passed through the Customs as old metal, less than half of one per cent. of the proper amount of duty being paid on it. The officials had their remedy, generously provided by the Treaty, and by its occasional exercise they became holders of a large quantity of miscellaneous merchandise of every possible category which used to be disposed of at public half-yearly auctions. The way was open to ingenious frauds:

> A sparkling beer brewed, to the best of the writer's recollection, in Edinburgh was imported in champagne bottles and taken over at the ordinary price of champagne by the Customs, the duty on beer having been proffered and refused. A large consignment of boots, on which a low valuation was placed, was also taken over, and when some months afterwards the auction was held, word was passed round that all the boots were for the right feet only. This was found to be the case, so the whole was sold for the merest trifle to the original importer who had, in the interval, imported and paid duty on the boots for the left feet. This deliberate fraud returned a profit of over one hundred per cent. on the whole transaction. A Prussian bought by tender a great number of Austrian rifles gathered on the battlefield of Sadowa. He had them well packed, the first layer in each case being rifles of the best and newest type and a few cases in the whole consignment consisting entirely of rifles of the latter class. He then brought the whole to Japan, where there was a great demand for arms of all kinds, as the civil war was still raging and the Japanese had not learned to make rifles themselves, though they were already competent judges of the merits of a good one. The Customs contemptuously rejected the valuation of the importer and took

over the whole consignment at their own, which was based on the standard of the best. The Japanese Customs Service in all its lower grades was at the time steeped in corruption, and there can be no doubt that in this, as in many other instances, bribery was used to secure that only the good cases should be thoroughly examined by the Customs valuers; but the result was that the Japanese Government paid a very high price for a very large consignment of perfectly worthless rifles.

These incidents, now told from memory, might be multiplied a hundredfold. They were of frequent occurrence during the first ten years of our commercial intercourse. The Japanese must share largely in the blame for them, for corruption was very prevalent, not only among the Customs but among all officials; but that fact does not remove the odium that must rest on our own and other Western traders of the time. The export of gold left the Japanese with the conviction that they had been despoiled. It intensified the national hatred and contempt for foreigners and commercial intercourse, and both were still further intensified by the notorious frequency of frauds such as have just been described, while the reputable classes of native traders were confirmed in their original conviction that any relations with the European spoilers and cheats could only mean loss and degradation to themselves. Many years had to elapse before the memories of those days and of the ills which they brought with them ceased to exist or to exercise an evil influence on all commercial transactions, and even yet they can hardly be said to be wholly gone.

Ignorance, prejudice and dishonesty were not the only obstacles that faced the new trade. The Government, no longer the hospitable hosts of yore, hated the very idea of Western intercourse and were persistent in their efforts to thwart all transactions in every detail by the imposition of petty and vexatious restrictions. They had been forced to make treaties, but they had a fixed determination to evade them. A stormy and unsurveyed coast was a serious obstacle to navigation and consequently to the development of trade. Political unrest was intense and civil war was at hand. And yet, with all this to contend against, trade prospered and grew.

The first record of it that the writer has been able to find is in a despatch from the late Sir Rutherford Alcock to the Secretary of State, dated March 3, 1861. In it he speaks with pride of an export trade that, in eighteen months, actually attained an aggregate value of more than one million sterling—of imports that, in the year 1860, attained a value of £198,000, and of 103 merchant vessels of 40,905 tons that entered Yokohama. The

statistical tables that accompanied his despatch seem to have been lost on the way, as they were not received at the Foreign Office, and there is therefore no available information as to the staples, either imports or exports, that entered into the aggregate trade. From this despatch a long stride may be taken to what we may consider the second signpost on the path of commercial progress—the Consular Report on the Foreign Trade of Japan for the year 1869, published in 1870.

In the meantime great changes had occurred. The Government of the usurping Shogun was no more. The Imperial Government was restored, but the country was still almost in domestic chaos. Civil war was not yet entirely at an end. Its embers were smouldering but ready to burst again into living flames, and feudalism still survived; but Japanese traders had by this time learned something of values, freights, and exchange, and were no longer ignorant victims of unscrupulous Europeans, while they retained their own cunning and duplicity unimpaired. From that report we learn that the aggregate value of the foreign trade of Japan in 1869 was 28,842,577 dollars, divided into imports 17,356,932 dollars, and exports 11,485,645 dollars, and that 1,610 foreign ships of 1,068,107 tons entered the various ports during the year. There were not yet any ocean-going Japanese vessels, though there was a small coasting fleet of out-of-date steamers, discarded by their British owners and bought at high prices in complete ignorance of their real value. The principal imports were manufactures; raw material for manufacturing purposes had no place among them. The exports were entirely of agricultural or marine produce.

From 1870 to 1900 is a still longer stride, but we take it, as it was in the latter year that the *Financial Annual of Japan*, now the great and exhaustive national gazetteer, was first issued, and a copy of the first number, which has been carefully treasured by the present writer ever since it appeared, is now before him. The changes between 1861 and 1870, already referred to, were, though they comprised a political revolution, as nothing compared with the political, financial, industrial and commercial transformation effected in the last quarter of the century. In 1870 Japan was still an unknown, petty Oriental principality, ruled by some mysterious, almost mythical, entity called the Mikado, whose people frequently indulged in a rather ghastly rite called "happy despatch," who produced some pretty and artistic knick-knacks, but who were not to be taken seriously in any of the great incidents of international life. Those who then lived in and thought they knew Japan believed her to be bank-

rupt in her finance, low in her productive capacity, disorganised in all her internal affairs, impotent for her own protection, with a Government that was ignorant, incapable and utterly unfit to handle the heavy task that lay before it.

In 1900 all was changed. Japan had, six years before, in one short, sharp campaign, humbled to the dust the great and powerful Empire of China. She had recovered the national autonomy of which she had been deprived when the Treaties were first made, and she had a constitutional Government. She had completely reorganised her whole economic position, and it was beginning to be suspected that the view hitherto taken of her by British bureaucrats and pundits was not entirely correct: that she might possibly be, if not a great, at any rate a very substantial Power, governed by a wise and prudent sovereign, who was served by a Ministry as capable as that of Germany under Bismarck, and who commanded the unquestioning and whole-hearted devotion of a loyal, patriotic, brave, proud, industrious, frugal and ambitious people, and that these people were even then threatening to become competitors with the other industrial nations of the world.

On the day of its birth (November 1867) the Imperial Government at once set about the commercial and industrial reorganisation of the whole nation. In all branches of civil administration the keenest attention was given to the promotion and development of the industrial capacity of the people and of foreign trade so that, in good time, the name of Japan might be known throughout the world not only as a great military Power but, equally so, as a great commercial and industrial Power. Nothing that a Government could do to stimulate and help the people, both morally and materially, towards the attainment of that end was left undone. A very complete system of general education was initiated, and education was made compulsory. Chambers of Commerce and specialised technical schools in each particular industry were established in all the principal cities. In agriculture model farms, schools and colleges, beside travelling instructors, were provided; in forestry a bureau of forestry, with branches and schools all over the country; in manufactures model factories; in mining the most advanced scientific methods were adopted; marine biology was investigated and expounded in special schools; in fact, no measures were neglected that could serve in developing the technical skill and productive capacity of the working classes. Special commercial schools supplemented the industrial schools. Railways were constructed, till the country is now covered from north to south with a complete

system. Steamship companies were established and liberally subsidised, and, as all would have been in vain without financial supports, a complete banking system was founded which now covers every possible field of commercial and industrial finance.

Generous subsidies were freely given to aid the exploitation of new industries or new fields of old industries. Ministers and Consuls were sent to the principal trading countries of the world, and their offices were not intended to be social sinecures. Commercial and scientific experts were sent abroad at Government expense for purposes of investigation, and the reports both of Consuls and experts were published and circulated in whatever parts of the Empire their contents could be of material benefit. Not only did the daily Press give a large amount of space to financial and commercial matters, but economic and specialised trade journals were published in yearly-increasing numbers, and trade became a favourite topic of statesmen and leaders of public opinion in general in their public addresses both from the platform and in the Diet. The change in the national spirit from less than forty years before, when the smallest association with trade meant social degradation, was one of the many striking scenes in a great national transformation. Japan devoted as much thought, energy, ability and thoroughness to the development of her industrial as she had done to her military machinery, and with no less success. The result of all these measures will be seen from the summarised statistics that are given below.

The first Financial Annual consists of a pamphlet of seventy-four pages of large and scattered type. Its contents cover a wide and diversified area of finance, trade, transport, communications and other economic subjects, but there are no details of productive industry. The last issue of the Annual, that of the year 1921—the twenty-first—contains 232 closely-printed pages of small type and is a full statistical record of the entire economy not only of the Empire but of the colonies of Korea and Formosa. It affords convincing testimony that Japan is now a great commercial and industrial Power in every sense of the word, sound in her finance and having at her command all the banking and transport facilities which are essential to the continued development of both trade and industry. Her whole industrial system has been almost as completely revolutionised as has been her political. There is nothing that can be learned from the West which she has not assimilated—it might be said improved upon, for no other country in the world has now so complete a system of general and technical education—and the enterprise of joint-stock companies and of family and individual

producers is stimulated by Government help and encouragement. Her prosperous merchant shipping, admirably managed in every detail, now not only monopolises the coasting trade but regularly displays the national flag in every great commercial port in the world, literally speaking from China to Peru, and foreign trade continues to be further aided by a Diplomatic and Consular service of the very highest degree of efficiency and keenness and by commercial agents who seem to be ubiquitous. All the members of the Diplomatic and Consular Services are, as specialists in their peculiar duties, no less highly trained than are all members of the other Civil Services of the State, and no less a degree of competence and unremitting industry is required from them. Drones or dullards, no matter how highly born or how wealthy (and birth and wealth are well represented in the ranks of both services), have no place among them, and they have substantially contributed to the present industrial and commercial status of their Empire.[1]

The foreign trade of Japan may not unreasonably be taken as an index of her general economic condition. The following table gives its values at successive periods since 1872. It was in that year that the Customs statistics for the first time acquired a status that may be called trustworthy. The next year, 1893, was that which immediately preceded the war with China, the dawn of her great industrial expansion. The others are the beginning and close of the first decade of the current century, three of the years of the Great War, and the three years that have elapsed since its close.

Year.	Exports.	Ratio per head of population.	Imports.	Ratio per head of population.	Totals.	Ratio per head of population.
	Yen.	Yen (nett).	Yen.	Yen (nett).	Yen.	Yen (nett).
1872	17,027	·51	21,917	·66	38,944	1·17
1893	89,713	2·17	88,257	2·13	177,970	4.30
1900	204,430	4·56	287,262	6·41	491,692	10·97
1910	458,429	8·99	464,233	9·11	922,662	18·10
1914	591,101	10·90	595,736	10·98	1,186,837	21·88
1916	1,127,468	20·31	756,428	13·51	1,883,896	33·64
1918	1,962,101	34·38	1,668,144	29·24	3,630,245	63·62
1919	2,098,873	37·31	2,173,459	38·64	4,272,332	75·95
1920	1,948,394	34·20	2,336,175	41·74	4,284,569	75·94
1921	1,252,838	—	1,614,155	—	2,866,993	—

[1] If the comments of our countrymen, resident in Japan, are accepted in their entirety, the Postal Service constitutes an exception which proves the general rule. The method, or want of method, with which it deals with foreign correspondence is the subject of severe and frequent criticism. It may, however, be asked, would perfection be shown by our own service if called upon to deal with a large quantity of correspondence addressed entirely in Japanese script ?

In order to facilitate a comparison between Japan's present status as a commercial Power and that of the older Powers that have survived the Great War, the following table is given of the foreign trade, during the years 1919–1920, of the four countries that, pending the revival of Germany, may now be considered the leading commercial Powers of the West.

IMPORTS

	1919. £	1920. £
United Kingdom	1,416,410	1,714,336
United States	813,409	1,099,875
France	1,431,971	1,416,198
Belgium	208,543	446,621

EXPORTS

	1919. £	1920. £
United Kingdom	798,638	1,335,569
United States	1,614,545	1,683,504
France	475,184	897,390
Belgium	91,252	347,927

Japan, as will be seen, is still far behind even Belgium, with one-tenth of her population, just restored from her martyrdom under the iron heel of Germany ; but that fact does not minimise the marvellous progress she has already made. In 1900 the value of her foreign trade was more than twelvefold what it was when her Customs service was first organised on a sound basis, twenty-eight years previously. Between 1900 and 1910 it nearly doubled. The Great War gave an enormous impetus to its inherent vigour. In 1919 it was nearly tenfold what it was in 1900, and though financial and industrial crises impeded its increasing prosperity in 1920, it fully maintained its level, both in its aggregate and its ratio to the rapidly growing population.

It is a remarkable fact that throughout the two centuries of isolation the population of Japan made practically no advance. In 1721, it was 29 millions. In 1792, it had been so reduced by famines and other calamities that it was less than 25 millions. In 1858, it was 30 millions. In 137 years it had only increased by one million. Then began Japan's intercourse with the world, and the story quickly and materially changed. When the harvest failed, and the country's own production of food was insufficient, abundance was obtained from Asiatic neighbours. There were no more famines, with their ghastly sequences of pestilence and physical deterioration, and the population began

to grow, like trade, by leaps and bounds. In 1871, when the first census was taken, the population was 33,110,793; in 1900 it was 44,815,980; and in 1920, the result of the first national census made by the "Extraordinary National Census Bureau" showed that it was 55,931,140, composed of 28,012,995 males and 27,918,145 females. During the ten years 1909–18 the average annual ratio of increase was 14·15 per 1,000 inhabitants. These totals do not include the colonies. When their population is added to that of the Islands of Japan, the total population of the Empire amounts to 77,005,510. The people of the colonies are now receiving the same paternal instruction in industry as was given to the Japanese themselves, and they have shown that they are not less capable of assimilating its practical benefits in due time. Industry and trade have very largely developed both in Formosa and, notwithstanding all its political unrest, in Korea since their annexation; but in this volume it is proposed to deal only with (what it has recently become the fashion to call) Japan Proper—that is, the original Islands of the Empire.

It was in 1894, the year of the war with China, that the great industrial movement in Japan began, and it is a significant item in the growth of the manufacturing industry that, since that year, there has been an increasing trend of the population from the rural to the urban districts. In 1894 the population numbered 41,813,215, of which the urban population (i.e. that of towns with over 10,000 inhabitants) was 6,732,808, and the rural 35,080,407. There were then 35 towns with populations of from 30,000 to 100,000, and 6 towns with populations of over 100,000. By 1898 the whole population had grown to 43,763,153, an increase of 1,949,938; but while the increase in the rural population was only 673,500, that in the urban was 1,276,438. The towns with populations of between 30,000 and 100,000 had increased to 39, and those with over 100,000 to 8. In 1920 the population had grown to nearly 56,000,000. There are now 62 towns with populations of between 30,000 and 100,000, and 16 towns with populations exceeding the last-mentioned figure. The largest towns—i.e. those with populations of over 150,000—with their present populations, are: Tokyo (2,173,162); Osaka (1,252,972); Kyoto (691,315); Kobe (608,628); Nagoya (429,990); Yokohama (422,942); Nagasaki (176,554); Hiroshima (160,504). It is in these great towns which are all-important seats of manufacturing industry or of foreign trade that the increase of population is largest, and, as the rural districts of Japan have been long settled, and the limited area available for profitable cultivation is fully occupied,

it is to be expected that the future increase in the population will, in even a greater degree, take place in the urban portion of it, and that the manufacturing industries will be further stimulated by the growing severity of the struggle for existence that must ensue. Kobe and Yokohama are the two principal seats of foreign trade, and both are now populous and wealthy cities, though both were mere fishing hamlets at the opening up of Japan.

CHAPTER II

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

It has already been stated in this volume that in the very earliest stages of her new intercourse with the nations of the West Japan's ambition was stimulated by the example of Great Britain. Germany had not then begun to exist, and Prussia was an insignificant factor in all politics outside Europe. The United States exported grain but otherwise had little interest in foreign trade. As regards Japan they were satisfied with having enticed or forced (it may be correctly described either way) her out of her national isolation, and they were soon afterwards so entirely absorbed in their own domestic affairs that they could spare no thought for what happened beyond their own borders. France and Russia were Great Powers whose influence extended to the Far East, but in an infinitely less degree than did that of Great Britain, whether it was viewed from the military, naval or commercial aspect. In all these three aspects as well as in the desire of one day becoming the centre of a great colonial Empire, Japan became ambitious to emulate the prototype she had set before her. She is still far from the attainment of her goal, though she has travelled a long way towards it. As a military Power she has undoubtedly surpassed her first subject of admiration, and as a naval and colonial Power she already promises to take her place in the first rank—even if she has not already done so. She has become an industrial and commercial Power of substance. She is in her foreign trade still far behind Great Britain, but Great Britain had a very long start. British trade, on the basis which it steadily and surely founded for itself, may be said to have had its beginning after Waterloo, over a century ago. Japan's great industrial and commercial development in its concrete reality only began after her successful war with China, twenty-six years ago, and in that comparatively short period she has become a formidable rival in spheres of trade which Great Britain once thought entirely her own and

where until the outbreak of the Great War she had only to face competition from Germany.

The figures given in the preceding table [1] show the development that has taken place in Japan's aggregate foreign trade. The two following tables show how much its whole character has changed. The first shows the value and composition of the trade in the years 1869 and 1870, the first years of the consolidation of the new Imperial Government, and the second, its value and composition during the last three years, 1920–21–22.

TABLE I

1869–1870

Imports.			Exports.		
—	1869.	1870.	—	1869.	1870.
	$	$		$	$
Cotton manufactures .	5,251	7,274	Raw silk. . .	4,865	5,198
Woollen do. . .	2,011	1,982	Silkworm eggs . .	2,728	3,473
Metals . . .	632	322	Tea . . .	2,019	3,848
Arms and ammunition	1,857	207	Miscellaneous . .	1,863	2,624
Miscellaneous . .	1,777	1,893			
Eastern produce (rice, peas, sugar) . .	5,828	18,092			
Totals . .	17,356	29,770		11,475	15,143

		$
Total Exports and Imports . .	1869	28,831
„ „ „ „ .	1870	44,913
Excess of Imports . . .	1869	5,881
„ „ „ . .	1870	14,627

TABLE II

1920–1922

—	Exports.			Imports.		
	1920.	1921.	1922.*	1920.	1921.	1922.*
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
Food, drink and tobacco . . .	142,281	79,682	57,534	222,404	208,329	214,251
Raw materials . .	140,105	79,409	56,965	1,260,106	757,020	604,272
Partly manufactured goods . . .	678,572	550,727	514,635	509,067	324,058	300,528
Wholly manufactured goods . . .	962,928	524,175	381,533	328,364	311,469	257,176
Miscellaneous . .	24,509	18,845	15,945	16,234	13,279	11,229
Totals . .	1,948,395	1,252,838	1,026,612	2,336,175	1,614,155	1,387,456

* 1922—Eight months only, ended August 31.

[1] *Vide* page 259.

		Yen.
Total Exports and Imports	1920	4,284,570
" " " "	1921	2,866,993
" " " "	1922	2,414,068
Excess of Imports	1920	387,780
" " "	1921	361,317
" " "	1922	360,844

For purpose of comparison the following table of similar statistics in regard to Great Britain during the same years is added :

—	Exports.			Imports.		
	1920.	1921.	1922.	1920.	1921.	1922.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Food, drink and tobacco	50,936	37,399	36,320	765,808	567,006	472,628
Raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured.	145,516	63,594	102,015	710,355	270,794	298,242
Manufactures	1,119,739	588,889	569.420	453,440	244,480	229,919
Miscellaneous	18,277	13,517	12,741	3,045	3,220	3,129
Totals	1,334,469	703,399	720,496	1,932,648	1,085,500	1,003,918

		£
Total Exports and Imports	1920	3,267,117
" " " "	1921	1,788,899
" " " "	1922	1,724,414
Excess of Imports	1920	598,179
" " "	1921	382,101
" " "	1922	283,422

The figures in the first two of these three tables show that there is no gainsaying of the fact that Japan under the Imperial Government has made very real progress as an industrial and commercial nation. Adjectives frequently applied to it by Western writers, especially the large body of those who are carried away by the natural beauties of the country, the hospitality and courtesy of its people, or, in a good many cases, by the fascinating charms of its women, are "phenomenal," "marvellous," "unparalleled," "startling," and many others equally strong. For all there is some justification, but whatever may be the extent of what Japan has already achieved, the figures in the third table show that she is certainly still a long, long way from being the industrial equal of Great Britain. Everything has been in her favour, as compared with Great Britain, since the beginning of the war, and yet in the last two years for which the statistics are complete the average value of the manufactures which she was able to export was Yen 744 millions, or, making rough allowances for the vagaries of

exchange, about 93 millions sterling, less than one-ninth of the average value exported from Great Britain during the same years.

Perhaps the most interesting comparison to be made between the two nations is their relative capacities to feed their own people. Japan's population, exclusive of her colonies, is now almost double what it was in the days of her isolation, and its increase continues so rapidly that the day is already foreseen when she will be totally unable to feed it from her own resources. But that day is still only a very little way above the horizon. If her population has doubled since she entered into the comity of nations, so too has her own agricultural output, and her dependence on food-supplies from abroad is far less than that of Great Britain. While Great Britain imported a net average of 666 millions sterling worth of food-stuffs in each of the two years, the dependency of Japan, with a population of 56 millions as compared with the 43 millions of Great Britain, on food from abroad was represented by a net average of Yen 215 millions. In her colonies of Formosa and Korea she has rich granaries from which to supplement her own increased products, and the risk of her ever being starved into submission in years of normal harvests of the present day may be dismissed as outside the range of all probability.

A summary analysis of the various items comprised in the totals of the first table shows that in the case of exports the only one that can, in the early years, be brought within the category of manufactures is an insignificant quantity of lacquer and porcelain ware and other similar *objets de luxe*, included under the heading " Miscellaneous," all the rest being entirely agricultural or marine produce: silk and tea to Europe and the United States, seaweed and dried fish to China. Imports, with the exception of Eastern produce, the value of which in 1870 was intensified by two successive bad harvests, necessitating an import of rice to the value of over ten million yen, were composed exclusively of manufactured goods, mainly cotton and woollen textiles and arms and ammunition. One-third of the imports included under the heading " Miscellaneous " consisted of wines and household stores for the consumption of the European residents, and only once in the detailed lists does there appear one single item, to a very trifling value, that could by any stretch of language be called raw material. The figures in this table are taken from Consular reports, in the compilation of which the present author had an active share; and very dreary and unsatisfactory work it was extracting statistical facts from the

utterly untrustworthy records of the Japanese Customs of that day and endeavouring to impart an approximate degree of accuracy to them with the aid of local British merchants. Since the years to which they relate Japanese Government statistics have, in their fullness and accuracy, become a model which might be followed by the whole world, and those contained in the second of the above tables may be accepted as a faithful reflection of the foreign trade of to-day. They show how much the character of the trade has changed from the early days when the new Government was making its first tentative essays in political and economic administration. Japan has now become a great importer of raw material and a great exporter of manufactured goods. She had, as such, already made great progress before the year 1914, and then the outbreak of the Great War opened to her enterprise new fields of which she hastened to avail herself with all her usual energy.

German manufactures ceased to appear in the markets of the world, and British appeared only in diminishing quantities. The standard industries of Japan were entirely unaffected to their detriment, as, on the contrary, were those of Great Britain, by their conscription for the production of war material; and the new opportunities that rapidly appeared for the increased sales of Japanese products in markets to which she had already the entry and in others hitherto unexploited by her were at once eagerly appropriated both by her Government and her manufacturers and traders. All combined not only to increase the sale of what were already her prominent staples but to produce entirely new ones which had been hitherto the monopolies of the Western manufacturers. For the first few months following the outbreak of the war foreign trade was adversely affected in Japan as elsewhere; but it quickly recovered, and her visions of renewed commercial expansion and prosperity were soon realised.

Trade during the current century has advanced by leaps and bounds. From 1914 it did so with giant strides. China, Australia, India, South Africa, South America and the islands of the Southern Seas all became purchasers of goods formerly made in Great Britain or Germany but now made in Japan, and orders for them were poured in from all quarters; while the United States, whose economic prosperity intensified the luxury-purchasing power of the people, not only became a buyer of new products but largely increased the demand for silk, both in its raw and manufactured state, of which they had always been a large buyer. Japan is a country with a gold currency, while her

great Asiatic neighbour still adheres to silver, and the rise in its exchange-value gave China new purchasing powers on favourable terms which were used to the fullest extent. Prices rose enormously in Japan, and the exchange value of her currency rose also until that of its unit, the yen, the normal value of which is 2*s.* 0½*d.*, exceeded 2*s.* 10*d.* Neither this factor nor the obstacles to trade caused by the shortage and war risks of shipping, nor the entire elimination of Germany, Russia and Austria from the list of Japan's regular customers, nor the embargos laid on some imports by the belligerent Powers, served to check the outflow of her exports, and not only did the old staples of her trade and her new industrial products go forth in undiminished quantities at largely increased prices, but their volume was still further increased by the munitions of war, among which copper may be included, and such auxiliary foodstuffs as beans, peas and starch, that were sent to Europe.

The great expansion of her aggregate trade was not the only economic result of the war. Another, hardly less important in Japanese eyes, was the conversion of what is not very logically termed the adverse balance of trade into one largely in Japan's favour. From the year 1896 down to 1914 the value of Japan's imports almost continuously exceeded that of the goods which she was able to export. There were only two small exceptions in 1906 and 1909, and, in the aggregate of nineteen years, the deficit in Japan's exports as compared with her imports was no less than Yen 935 millions. The export of treasure on the other hand was very slightly in excess of its import, and a substantial portion of the trade deficit was made up by the earnings of Japanese shipping and by the large sums spent in the country by travellers and missionary societies. Apart from that, it is difficult to see how an immense and growing import of raw material, which is manufactured into much more valuable staples, both for domestic consumption and for export, can be called adverse to the country. Such, however, is the view taken of it by Japanese economists.

Admitting its correctness, the adverse balance entirely disappeared during the war, and was converted into one favourable to Japan to the extent of Yen 1,408 millions during the four years 1915–1918. In 1919, the aspect again changed, and the change has continued through the three succeeding years. In 1919 the excess of imports was Yen 74 millions, and in 1920 it had further grown to Yen 387 millions, in 1921 to 263 millions and in the first eight months of 1922 to 361 millions. In all these years the pre-bellum standards have been surpassed in the

total volume of trade, notwithstanding that there were many adverse factors against which to contend. The conclusion of the Armistice checked new orders for exports and brought about the countermanding to a large extent of those already given. Japan ceased to enjoy the practical monopoly for manufactured goods she had created in several spheres during the war, while the demand by the belligerent powers of Europe for war material and food-stuffs naturally came to an end. There was acute labour unrest, induced by a very large increase in prices in even a much greater ratio than in other countries, even in those more deeply involved in the war, and the economic conditions of labour and production were seriously disturbed by strikes and political agitation; and lastly, there was a partial boycott in China.

There is no country where traders have less influence on their own domestic politics than in China, and it may seem a paradox therefore to say that they can exert a very effective influence on foreign politics. But Japan has on several occasions experienced this influence in a manner so detrimental to her material interests that it has caused her Government to descend from its autocratic perch and modify its political action. It had this result in 1915, when the Five-Group demands were presented to the Chinese Government, and again in 1919 in regard to the retrocession of Shantung and China's position at the Peace Conference. The Government at Peking helplessly or corruptly yields to the military autocracy of Japan, no matter how unscrupulous or arbitrary their demands, but the merchants of China, full of the pride of race, in some mysterious manner that no European can fathom, without one public utterance, secretly pass round the word that is implicitly and unquestioningly obeyed; and from Tientsin to Canton—however much north and south may be at political loggerheads, in this action they are as one—not a bale of Japanese goods is bought by the merchant nor an article of Japanese make exposed for sale in the humblest village shop. In 1919 the boycott did not proceed quite to this extent as it did on some previous occasions, but it checked the purchase from Japan of goods that could be obtained from Europe. Enough, however, remained to show an aggregate increase of exports to China from Yen 330 millions in 1918 to 447 millions in 1919 and to 410 millions in 1920.

The principal exports to China are cotton yarns and piece-goods, umbrellas, matches, porcelain and earthenware, sugar and coal, all of which were exported both to China and other

countries in increased quantities. Other articles that derived an impetus from the war and may continue among exports of large value from Japan are hosiery, woollen piece-goods, tooth-brushes, beer, paper, cement and lamps, while rubber tyres, toys, playing-cards, boots, tinned vegetables and fish, for the first time found their way to a substantial extent to Western countries, including under that term the continents of the Eastern hemisphere, as well as those of North and South America. In all the great cities of the world Japanese productions were prominent in shops in which they were little known before the war—even if they had ever been heard of. One specific instance may be mentioned. Japanese canned salmon is and has been for some years imported into Great Britain and some improvement has been effected recently in its quality; but even yet it is not to be recommended as an attractive comestible, though, at its worst, it has never merited the description of American canned lobster, which some authorities say is only fit to be used as a missile. On the other hand, crabs of large size and most excellent flavour are abundant in the Hokkaido seas, and canned crab, quite a new product, is very palatable indeed and has so far been entirely free from any dangerous element attending on careless packing. It was frequently seen in great London shops during the war, and its export from Japan, notwithstanding all the local economic conditions that were adverse to it, reach a value of nearly two million yen in the first six months of 1920, and of over two millions in the same period of 1922.

After four years of unclouded industrial prosperity there was naturally a reaction on the conclusion of the war. Wages had risen while it lasted, but not at all in ratio with the enormously increased cost of living, which has converted Japan from one of the cheapest into one of the dearest countries in the world in which to live; and labour unrest became acute and was accompanied by riots and strikes, phenomena hitherto almost unknown. Money had, it is true, poured into the country, but it went into comparatively few hands. As England had her profiteers so Japan had her *narikin*,[1] and the *narikin* was just as vulgar, ostentatious, extravagant and selfish (qualities all eminently antagonistic to the normal Japanese character) as was and is his English *confrère*. The sudden end of the war was

[1] *Narikin* is a term not found in any dictionary in the present writer's possession. Its original meaning is one of the pawns in the game of go (chess) which suddenly acquires a greatly increased value by penetrating into the opponent's lines.

not foreseen, and in the hope of continued halcyon days factories laid in large stocks of raw material and duplicated their machinery and their buildings. When the slump came some were only saved from bankruptcy by the aid of Government finance, which was used with the usual paternal generosity to support them.

Yet with all these difficulties to contend against trade continued to grow. There was a slump in Japan, but it has only been part of a world-wide depression, and there is only one cause which may interfere with her further advance in the industrial markets of the world.

This cause has always been apparent among Japanese producers, and it showed itself only too plainly during the war. It is their incapacity for maintaining a level standard of quality in their goods. They do not in any industry resist the temptation of larger immediate profits from inferior goods, notwithstanding the disastrous influence such a course must exercise on ulterior development and consumption. When any staple acquires a reputation for either cheapness or quality and a large demand is created for it, its standard is lowered, and purchasers become disgusted at finding articles palmed on them that are below that of the samples on which they contracted.

We have already quoted what Sir Rutherford Alcock said of the traders of his day, nearly sixty years ago. Thirty-five years later the present writer, in an official report on the trade of Japan, wrote as follows :

" Cheapness and appearance are the sole recommendations of the vast majority of Japanese manufacturers. Turkey reds are now being made and sold at a price which would scarcely pay for the original undyed cloth in Glasgow, but they have no durability in either colour or material. Blankets are sold at 3*s.* each, in appearance just as good as the imported article which costs treble that price ; but they are shoddy throughout. Glass ware is coarse ; lamps flimsy and unsafe ; lamp chimneys break when subjected to a far less degree of heat than imported ones can stand with entire impunity ; towels go to pieces with little friction after a very few washings ; door-mats do much the same after a few beatings ; and a tooth-brush quickly becomes a positive torture. A solid leather portmanteau, equal in appearance to one which costs £5 5*s.* in London, can be obtained in Tokyo for less than half that amount. The latter will, however, last a lifetime ; one voyage to England and back will finish the career of the Japanese product. Boots, perfectly fitting, entirely hand-sewn, and also equal in appearance to the result of the best workmanship of London West-End boot-makers, are made to order in Tokyo from 12*s.* to 15*s.* per pair ; but again, their wearing capacity is less than one-half. Not one-third of the contents of a box of matches can, under the most favourable circumstances, be induced to flame at all, and the slightest draught at once extinguishes those which do flame. The least subjection

to damp renders the whole box entirely useless, and the sulphur often, when struck and flaming, flies off the wood and becomes a source of positive danger."

These words were written in February 1896. Twenty-four years later, in the *Japan Weekly Chronicle*, a journal of the highest standing, for September 23, 1920, we find the following comments :

"During the war Japan had an advantage that comes seldom in the lifetime of a nation. . . . She had the opportunity of establishing herself in markets where her products had not previously been seen. It was badly used. Goods were exported that failed to reach the standard of sample—lamp-glasses that broke in being handled ; matches that would not strike ; shirts with buttons pasted on, and so forth. Of course, it would be absurd to suggest that all Japan's exports during the war were of this calibre, but the tricks of traders and the inferior qualities of goods put on the market were sufficiently numerous to determine her temporary customers to go back to their former suppliers when circumstances permitted. A prejudice was aroused against Japanese goods due to the evil practices of a section of Japanese manufacturers that has done great harm to Japan's commerce."

The Government endeavours to prevent this by enforcing an official expert inspection of certain goods that are exported to the value of over 100,000 yen. This is a revival of an old custom observed under the Tokugawa when Nagasaki was the sole seat of all foreign trade either through the medium of the Dutch or with the Chinese. Then everything intended for exportation was subject to the most rigid inspection by an official department termed the Goods Inspection Office, and any article that fell short of perfection even in a small degree was rejected and retained for consumption in Japan. The custom is imitated now in regard to silk, and the old frauds which, if continued indefinitely, might well have ruined an industry that is a national gold mine, now no longer take place. The hanks of raw silk are no longer found to contain shot or sand, and uniformity is attained in the quality of piece-goods. But no bureaucracy, no matter how extensive, can be responsible for the quality of all the goods comprised in an export trade of the magnitude of that of Japan to-day, though silk is far from being the only staple inspected. The European exporter who buys from the native producer has generally to be his own " Goods Inspector " ; and the inspection must indeed be very careful if he has to secure himself against all possibilities of fraud. In this respect Japanese producers present a marked contrast to Chinese, who can be safely trusted to fulfil their contracts in every detail of quality as well as of price. It is in rare cases, if indeed in any, that a similar trust can be placed in Japanese.

CHAPTER III

FINANCE, BANKS, ETC.

STATISTICS have now to be given of the national revenue, expenditure and debt. The growth of the two first is shown in the following table :

Year.	Revenue.			Expenditure.			
	Ordinary.	Extra-ordinary.	Total.	Ordinary.	Extra-ordinary.	Total.	Surplus.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1870	10,043	10,916	20,959	9,750	10,358	20,108	851
1896	104,904	82,115	187,019	100,713	68,143	168,856	18,163
1900	177,328	76,926	254,254	137,590	116,575	254,165	89
1906	398,302	136,954	535,256	156,681	264,060	420,741	114,515
1914	575,428	146,547	721,975	415,636	157,998	573,634	148,341
1919	911,579	567,536	1,479,115	490,167	526,868	1,017,035	462,080
1920	1,063,121	745,512	1,808,633	502,786	669,542	1,172,328	636,305
1921	1,012,614	383,669	1,396,283	744,722	651,561	1,396,283	—
1922	1,238,457	346,294	1,584,750	905,401	678,824	1,584,225	—

These years have been chosen as they are all landmarks in history. The figures for 1870 are for twelve months, ending on the 30th of September in that year ; the others for the financial year ending on the 31st of March in each year. They all represent settled accounts with the exception of the last three years, the last two of which are the budget estimates, and that for 1920 the actual account on October 31 of that year.

Until after the China War, Japan may, without much exaggeration, be described as a single-tax country, for though there were several taxes, including income and liquor, the bulk of the revenue was derived from what was and still is called land-tax, but is really land-rent paid to the Government, which, in the name of the Emperor, is the head landlord of all the land throughout the Empire. Since 1896 avalanches of new taxation, necessitated to a large extent by growing military and naval

expenditure and by interest on an increasing national debt, have continued to fall on the people who are now, relatively to their means, as heavily taxed as were those of any European nation before the war. Income, succession, business, travelling, mining, stamps, sugar, liquors, soy, have all in turn in recent years been made to contribute to the national revenue either for the first time or in greatly increased amount. A protective tariff produces a substantial Customs revenue, while railway and other public undertakings owned by the Government, as well as the monopolies in tobacco, salt and camphor, give large returns. The result of all is that the budget for the financial year 1921–22, which has been submitted to the Diet, is of record magnitude, over double that of the year immediately preceding the war ; and at least half of the total expenditure is on account of military and naval purposes. Japan's ambition is far from being confined to commercial and industrial expansion. Up till the Washington Conference of 1922 it had never for a moment occurred to her that any provisions in the League of Nations or elsewhere should induce her to diminish her great and most efficiently organised army by a single private, or her admirable fleet by one torpedo-boat. She still believes her destinies in the world are clearly outlined for her ; they include the acknowledged hegemony of the Western Pacific and of the continent of Asia, and for the attainment of those objects she is now willing to pay. Her national debt is not a heavy one when estimated with her resources, and it compares favourably with the debts of the other great military or commercial powers of the world.

The story of her career as a borrower is scarcely less interesting than that of the beginning and development of her trade. Her first experience was a loan of 500,000 dollars, roughly one hundred thousand pounds, from the Oriental Bank, then in the heyday of its greatness. What is now the great naval dockyard of Yokosuka was originally constructed (before the fall of the Tokugawa Government) on a small scale by French engineers, whose services were lent by the French Government under the Third Empire, as were those of the military instructors of the army of that time. Both engineers and soldiers were incidents in Napoleon III's policy of endeavouring to expand French influence in the Far East ; but when payments for the dockyard fell into arrears in the closing stages of the civil war of the Restoration, when the national administration was utterly disorganised, his policy, hitherto all suavity, changed into one that was the reverse of considerate, and he threatened to take summary

possession of the whole dockyard. Had he done so, the results might not have been only of a temporary character. It would have been difficult to oust him (the Franco-Prussian War was not then foreseen), and Japan might have suffered a great national humiliation. From this she was rescued by the local manager of the Oriental Bank, who happened to be a man of most exceptional business enterprise, courage and foresight. At the suggestion of the British Minister, Sir Harry Parkes, he lent the Government, in direct contravention of the most positive instructions from his directors in London, what was necessary to discharge their liabilities to the French, and the new dockyard was saved from the unscrupulous creditors that threatened it.

This was Japan's first foreign loan. It was promptly repaid. The second was a public loan in the orthodox sense of the term. It was of a million sterling which was raised in London in 1870. The interest was 9 per cent.; the Customs revenue was specifically pledged as security, rapid amortisation was provided for, and the proceeds were earmarked for the construction of the first railway. It was subscribed under the derision of the most sober financial journals in London. This loan was paid off in ten years. In subsequent years Japan became a frequent and a large borrower in the money-markets of the world on the security of her own name, at interest as low as 4 per cent., and all her loans were rapidly filled at issue prices varying from £90 to £97 10*s*. Her public debt at the close of the financial year 1920–21 was: internal loans, 1,809,655; foreign loans, 1,424,388; total, 3,234,043 thousands of yen. Of this total, Yen 1,194 millions were used for productive works—railways, harbours, mining, etc.; Yen 1,651 millions for military purposes—war and expansion of armaments; and the balance for the capitalisation of feudal pensions, financial adjustment and the exploitation of Formosa and Korea. During the year 1921 the notes standing over from the previous year and issued by the Bank of Japan amounted to Yen 5,743 millions, of which the amount withdrawn was Yen 4,197 millions, leaving a balance outstanding at the end of the year of Yen 1,546 millions. The Bank reserve for the security of the notes consisted of specie Yen 1,245 millions, and Public Loan Bonds and other approved securities Yen 301 millions. The national debt is most amply secured by the industrial and other property of the Crown and by a specie reserve of Yen 2,104 millions. Local loans for industrial development, education, sanitation, etc., amount to Yen 436 millions, and urban loans of the four great

cities issued abroad for authorised municipal services, water works, harbour improvement, gas, electricity, etc., to Yen 147 millions.

Japan's financial position *vis-à-vis* the money-markets of the world was entirely changed by the commercial and industrial prosperity which the Great War brought her. Not only was she able to redeem a substantial portion of her debt, but her rôles, which had hitherto been those of borrower and debtor, became converted into those of creditor and lender. To Great Britain, whose financial critics treated her with such contemptuous mockery fifty years ago, she lent Yen 185 millions; to France Yen 157 millions; and to Russia Yen 178 millions. Great Britain's debt has been discharged, but that of France is still Yen 133 millions; that of Russia has increased to Yen 240 millions; and that of China amounts to Yen 85 millions. All her credits abroad, including these loans and a large specie reserve, are now believed to amount to fully Yen 2,000 millions. The penniless Government of the Restoration, forced, in its embarrassments, to appeal for insignificant help to an alien joint-stock bank, now stands on a financial basis sufficiently firm to give it the fullest confidence for the future.

Like other countries, Belgium perhaps alone excepted, she has had her experience of the industrial and commercial slump that has followed the war. Not only do her imports once more exceed her exports, but they do so to a degree that a few years ago would have been thought to mean national bankruptcy. The immense earnings of her shipping have fallen. Japan has become one of the most expensive countries in the world in which to live, and tourists do not flock to her shores in their pre-war numbers. It is not only the quality of her goods that now causes them to be looked at askance in their newly-discovered markets, but their cost. They are no longer cheap.

"The producing cost in Japan to-day is higher than in foreign countries, and it is wellnigh impossible to start competition in foreign markets. A reduction in producing cost is not merely necessary as an immediate measure but may be called a permanently necessary national policy."

This quotation is taken from an address of the President of the Bank of Japan delivered to the shareholders in January 1921. Nothing could more intensify the change that has come over Japan, once the acknowledged home of industrial cheapness, than these words from such an authority.

As regards the financial auxiliaries, banks and insurance, a degree of progress is found which has kept and still keeps pace with the general economic development of the Empire.

Banking was not unknown in a very rudimentary form in the days of Old Japan, though there were no banks. The great commercial houses of Osaka acted as financial agents to the Government and to the feudatories, but their functions and standing were more those of the Lombards and Jews of the Middle Ages than of the banking specialists of our own times. Bills of exchange and letters of credit were in use, but where trade was almost entirely local, not only restricted to the limits of the Empire but even to very circumscribed districts within those limits, there was but little demand for them. Such machinery as did exist proved entirely insufficient for the needs both of the Government and of the people in the national financial embarrassments which followed upon the Restoration, when the Government had no money and little and uncertain revenue, and the people who had specie, of whom it has since appeared there were very many, preferred to hoard it rather than bring it into general circulation, where it would be at the mercy of a Government in which they had as yet but little confidence. The agencies in Yokohama of great European banks, the once famous Oriental Bank, long since dead, but which, in the days of its financial and social splendour, held its head as high and was in as high repute as the Bank of England itself; the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, which now may be said to finance the trade of the Far East, everywhere but in Japan; and the French Comptoir d'Escompte, supplied the deficiency. All three financed the conduct of the new foreign trade through its stages of childhood and youth, and the first of the three came to the assistance both of the Shogunate and of the new Imperial Government in their sorest needs and rescued them from a slough of financial despair that had been engendered by their own difficulties and inexperience.

The Oriental Bank had its reward for its enterprise, for it was, for quite ten years, the agent of the Government in all its external finances; and the great profits made by the bank in Japan served to stave off for a season the sad result of less fortunate operations in other Eastern regions. The spirit of Japan—the Yamato Damashi—could not, however, brook, even in trade, perpetual dependence on foreigners, and an early attempt was made to start national banks, under newly-promulgated laws, on the model of the American system, which was that of a great number of unconnected free banks, all privileged to issue notes,

under certain rules laid down for their guidance as to reserves, on the condition that the notes should be paid on presentation. The national financial difficulties, an inconvertible paper currency, steadily depreciating in its specie value, an unvarying adverse balance of foreign trade, all reacted on the banks, and the early exploitation of the new industry was not successful. It was not until two banks were founded, both of which are now among the most prosperous corporations in the world, that the national and industrial finances at last began to find themselves on a firm basis of solvency and stability. So depreciated had the inconvertible paper currency become that it circulated at a discount of 84 per cent. as compared with specie.

The first of the two banks was the Yokohama Specie Bank—so called from the fact that its capital and all its transactions were intended to be in specie at a time when the national currency was exclusively of paper—whose business was to finance foreign trade and act as the financial agent of the Government abroad, to take over indeed all the business which until then had been so well managed by the Oriental Bank. It was founded in 1879, and in 1882 it was followed by the Bank of Japan, constituted mainly on the model of the Bank of Belgium. As its name signified, it was intended to be both the Central Bank of Japan, from which all joint-stock banks were to take their lead, and the accredited agent of the Government in all its internal, as the Yokohama Specie Bank was in its external, finance. On its foundation all the surviving national banks were deprived of the privilege of issuing notes, which was thenceforward reserved exclusively to the new Bank of Japan.

The first of these two great banks passed through some severe crises in its earliest years (1879–1882), but the Bank of Japan won the confidence of the nation from the first, and both have since made steady progress in the magnitude of their transactions and in their prosperity. They were fortunate in that, in 1884, while they were still early in their careers, the Government was able, with the material and moral assistance of both banks, to resume specie payments; and then foreign trade and domestic industry, freed from the risk of the ever-fluctuating exchange value of the paper currency, began to give an index of their future magnitude. The original capital of both banks had to be largely increased, and their functions were supplemented, as the nation advanced in wealth and industry, by those of other specialised banks, established by special statutes under the direct patronage of the Government, each having a specific sphere assigned to it for its operations. The Hypothec Bank grants loans at a low

rate of interest, repayable by fixed yearly instalments within at most fifty years, on the security of immovable property or, under well-defined conditions, without security, for the improvement and development of agriculture and industry. The Banks of Hokkaido and of Taiwan were established for the promotion of the colonisation and exploitation of the Hokkaido and of the island of Formosa respectively. The Industrial Bank grants loans on the security of bonds and shares, and in fact transacts business on the security of movable, as the Hypothec Bank does on immovable, property, "a kind of *crédit mobilier* as compared with a *crédit foncier*." The functions of the Hypothec Bank are locally discharged by Agricultural and Industrial Banks, forty-six in number, throughout the country, one in each prefecture.

The Bank of Chosen (i.e. of Korea) was founded in October 1909, nearly a year before the annexation, with a capital of Yen 10 millions. The bank enjoys similar privileges and discharges similar functions in Korea to those of the Bank of Japan in the parent country, and it has contributed in no small degree to the development of the material prosperity of Korea since the annexation. As just stated, its establishment preceded the formal annexation. It took place while Japan still exercised only a Protectorate over Korea. Its privileges were extended in 1917 to Kwantung and to the South Manchuria Railway Zone over which Japan now exercises a Protectorate, and the incident may be taken, with the Korean precedent in full view, as an omen of the destined fate of South Manchuria in the near future.

All these banks enjoy their special privileges, but they are under the strict control and supervision of the Government in accordance with the terms of their Charters and of the Imperial laws and ordinances specially applicable to them. Their business is superintended by Government overseers; their presidents and directors are appointed by, or at least require the approval of, the Government. Banking Law in general, based on a statute of the year 1890, is very strict both as regards the founding of a bank and the conduct of its business, even the office-hours and the holidays being specifically prescribed. There are now 1,389 ordinary joint-stock banks in existence and 665 joint-stock savings banks, but some of the latter are included in the ordinary banks which combine the savings bank with their general business. Besides these banking institutions there are also mutual loan societies, establishments peculiar to Japan, based on mutual credit among the middle and lower classes, and credit associations which receive the savings and issue loans to

their members. Lastly there are the Post Office Savings Banks.

During the war, banks enjoyed their full share of the general wave of national prosperity. Statistics are too voluminous to permit of any attempt to quote them with even an approach to detailed fullness, but the following table gives a bird's-eye view of the progress and conditions of the industry, including both the special banks from the Bank of Japan downwards and all the joint-stock banks, during the decade that preceded and included the last year of the war.

BANKS.

Year.	No. of Banks.	Authorised Capital.	Paid-up Capital.	Reserve Fund.	Balance of Deposits.	Balance of Advances.	Net Profits.	Rate of Dividend.
		Millions of Yen.	Millions of Yen.	Millions of Yen.	Millions of Yen.	Millions of Yen.	Millions of Yen.	per cent.
1910	2,144	681	496	176	1,919	1,966	97	8·7
1914	2,155	932	645	237	2,313	2,870	123	8·4
1918	2,091	1,314	899	333	8,026	6,976	113	8·2
1919	2,052	1,803	1,209	336	9,694	9,156	298	10·5
1920	2,049	2,444	1,242	454	9,539	9,323	244	7·7

The diminution in the numbers of banks in 1918–20 as compared with 1914 is due to cases of amalgamation of old companies. Among those which increased their capital are the Yokohama Specie Bank, which originally began business on the modest capital of Yen 6 millions, and has now enlarged it to Yen 100 millions; the Taiwan and Industrial Banks from Yen 30 to 60 and 50 millions respectively; and the Bank of Chosen from Yen 40 to 80 millions. The joint-stock banks were not far behind the favoured special banks, as the following instances will show:

Mitsui Bank	.	capital increased from Yen	48	to	100	millions.
Mitsubishi Bank	.	,,	,,	,,	,,	1	to	50	,,
First Bank	..	.	,,	,,	,,	,,	$22\frac{1}{2}$	to	50	,,
Third Bank	.	.	,,	,,	,,	,,	10	to	30	,,
Fifteenth Bank	.	,,	,,	,,	,,	40	to	100	,,
Hundredth Bank	.	,,	,,	,,	,,	10	to	25	,,

The above are among the foremost joint-stock banks. The Mitsui and Mitsubishi Banks are family corporations, branches of great commercial houses whose operations cover a wide field of industry of many forms besides that of banking. The Mitsui form one of the hereditary families of commercial magnates whose names have been well known for centuries, whose business includes mining, ship-owning, manufacturing, general merchants and retail traders, as well as banking, and the aggregate capital of all their enterprises exceeded Yen 150 millions at the close of

1918, with reserve funds of Yen 50 millions. Three of the living members of the family have been raised to the peerage. The Mitsubishi Bank is the property of the Iwasaki family, not, like the Mitsui, a hereditary commercial family, but one of samurai origin whose commercial greatness is of comparatively recent growth. It began with merchant shipping, the head of the house having, with very liberal assistance from the Government, founded the first great steamship company, which subsequently developed into the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, and acquired such a control over shipping that in his lifetime he was given by his countrymen the sobriquet of "The Sea King." From shipping the family enterprise extended to shipbuilding, mining, banking, fire and marine insurance, warehousing and general trading, and all that was touched by them seemed to turn to gold. Their aggregate capital in 1918 was Yen 100 millions. Two members of the family are peers. The Sumitomo are another historic family of traders, the head of which is also a peer. They are the owners of the most famous copper mines in Japan. All three families just mentioned worthily enjoy a high reputation for uprightness, generosity and public spirit and service, and their peerages were the rewards not of wealth but of public service.

Insurance is a more recent business development in Japan than banking and owes its origin entirely to Western example. Its inception dates from 1890 or even earlier, but it was not till the beginning of the present century, when laws for the control and supervision of insurance companies were finally revised and promulgated, that it began to assume really large dimensions in all its branches. Life, fire and marine are naturally the most important, but ample provision is also made for accident, transport, fidelity, burglary and even conscription.

CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRIES AND TRANSPORT

AGRICULTURE has been from the earliest days of history the most honoured calling in Japan next to that of arms. The farmer has always taken precedence in the social scale of all other commoners, and though in wealth he has now fallen far behind the enriched trader or manufacturer of modern days, agriculture is still, notwithstanding the development of manufacturing industry, the chief industry of the nation, occupying the lives of fully sixty per cent. of the population.

Nearly half of the country is covered with forests, and only one-sixth of the whole area is fit for tillage, but the deficiency is made good by intensive cultivation both with unremitting toil and with the application of the principles of modern agricultural science, so that two or even more yearly crops are raised from the same land. One-half of the cultivable area is devoted to *rice* as the primary crop. As rice has not only been through all the ages the staple diet of all people who have been able to afford it, but is also the material from which the national alcoholic beverage, *saké*, rice-beer, is brewed, every effort is made to increase its production both by adapting new land to it and by improved methods of cultivation and the use of chemical manure, in order, as far as possible, to meet with domestic produce the requirements of the rapidly-growing population. The crop varies according to weather, as do other crops in all parts of the world, but a fair standard is 53 million koku. That for the year 1920 amounted to no less than 63 million koku—which constituted a record. Its consumption is steadily increasing as the national standard of living is rising. Formerly the lower classes had to be content with barley or millet, or at best with rice imported from Saigon and Malaya, which is justly considered to be of very inferior quality both in its flavour and its nutritive properties to the native product, but now home-grown rice is demanded by all classes, and it is fortunate that the crop can be supplemented by the produce both of Korea and Formosa. Japan has acquired

much from Germany. She is now learning the manufacture of *Ersatz*, i.e. imitation rice, which is being produced from potatoes and is said not to be wholly despised. The crops mentioned in the tables are the most important, but vegetables, fruit, tobacco (a Government monopoly), peas, beans and pulse, rape, hemp, etc., are also extensively cultivated. Cotton and indigo were once important crops, but both have been put out of cultivation by imported raw cotton and artificial dyes.

While the quantities of all agricultural products have increased, their values have done so in incomparably greater ratio. Rice is the standard of all prices. Its average price in the year 1872 was Yen 4·80 per koku. In 1900 it was Yen 11·32 ; in 1914, Yen 15·46 ; and in 1919, Yen 45. In 1920 it rose as high as Yen 60, but thanks to the record crop of that year, it fell to Yen 25 in 1921. Farmers complained that it could not be grown with profit to themselves at that price and, as is usual in all economic crises in Japan, the assistance of the Government was invoked ; large purchases were made by it with the intention of storing the rice in warehouses in the producing districts and standardising prices by unloading it for public sale whenever the market prices rise too high. The success of 1920 was not repeated in the crop of 1921, as will be seen by the table below. The price again rose and large imports were made from Saigon and Siam, while a new feature was introduced into the supply by the import of rice grown in California from Japanese seeds. The latter is said not to be inferior in the qualities of flavour or nutriment to the home-grown product.

The following figures show the increase that has taken place in the principal agricultural productions :

Year.	Rice.	Barley, Rye. and Wheat.	Potatoes.	Sweet Potatoes.
	Koku.	Koku.	Kwan.	Kwan.
1900 . .	41,466	20,398	71,775	756,935
1918 . .	54,669	22,577	345,576	1,000,356
1919 . .	60,818	23,816	323,930	1,098,520
1920 . .	63,183	22,452	487,964	1,190,757
1921 . .	55,181	22,628	—	—

Year.	Sugar Cane.	Silk (Raw and Waste).	Tea.	Cocoons.
	Kwan.	Kwan.	Kwan.	Koku.
1900 . .	—	2,493	7,612	—
1918 . .	407,929	7,890	10,756	6,832
1919 . .	316,745	8,492	10,398	7,222
1920 . .	287,053	7,678	9,646	6,333

Sericulture ranks next to rice in its importance to the Japanese farmer. Its products form the largest item in the list of Japan's exports and are a mainstay of her economic prosperity. The industry is one to which much attention has been and is being given by the Government, both in teaching the farmer to obtain the best results and to secure uniformity of quality, and in exercising a strict system of official supervision for the prevention of the frauds that roused Sir Rutherford Alcock's indignation in 1863.[1]

Silk in Japan is almost as old as Japan herself, though the silk-worm is not indigenous and was probably first imported from Korea. The Japanese, however, made good use of their acquisition, for we find that the Emperor Suinin (28 B.C.–A.D. 70) entrusted the Ambassador of the King of Imna, one of the three ancient kingdoms of Korea, with a present of 100 pieces of red silk for his royal master; but the people of Silla (the second of the three kingdoms) waylaid and robbed him, and the enmity then began between the two countries, which was destined to bring such calamities on the peninsula. It was on a silk coverlet that the Princess Tachibana, a century later, floated away on the storm-swept waves from her husband, when she sacrificed herself for him in the straits of Sagami. From those early days onward silk formed the material for the clothing of men as well as of women and of bedding of the upper classes, as did cotton for the lower; the industry has therefore never failed. Since a profitable market abroad was added to an enormous domestic consumption, it has been very extensively developed in all its branches. Japan without silk would be as England without Lancashire cotton or France without red wine. It is principally exported in the form of raw silk in hanks, as reeled from the filatures, but the export of silk tissues and handkerchiefs, fully manufactured, has in recent years acquired large dimensions.

Formerly cocoons were also largely exported, but it was in the days when Japan had no knowledge of industrial economy, and the story is one of the many which Japanese recall with some bitterness, though it was free from the frauds of the gold and silver exchange and of the Customs. During the sixties of the last century a plague exterminated the silk-worms in Italy and France, and their places were supplied by worms imported from Japan. For several years a large number of graineurs annually came to Japan, and the very high prices which they were willing to pay tempted Japanese farmers to devote them-

[1] *Vide* page 252.

selves to breeding worms for sale and to part with the soundest and best. In less than a decade the industry was in this way fully restored in France and Italy, while in Japan, where only inferior worms had been retained, not only did the export trade in worms come to an entire end, but the cocoons very seriously degenerated, and it was not for several years that Japan recovered in Europe the high reputation which her silk acquired in the early days of her commercial intercourse. Even then she had still to face strong opposition of the local products both in France and Italy. Had it not been for her short-sightedness in not killing but selling her own worms that were laying golden eggs in wholesale abundance, she might have had a command of the silk trade of the world in which her only competitor would have been China. It is easy to form an opinion of the regret that is felt even yet at the blind and stupid greed which lost a possibility so splendid to the country. As it is the industry has annually brought millions into it, and the export has steadily grown both in quantity and value, silk and its products representing nearly a third of the value of the whole export trade in 1920, and considerably more than a third in 1919.

The United States are by far the best customers, but a large export also takes place to France, while Great Britain purchases silk piece-goods and handkerchiefs to a substantial extent. The trade is a fluctuating one, its extent being largely influenced by the purchasing powers and vagaries of fashion in the United States, where its slump in 1920 was a substantial contribution to the adverse trade balance of exports. The following table of its values shows the progress and present extent of the export:

Year.	Raw Silk.	Waste Silk.	Piece-goods.	Handkerchiefs.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1872 . .	5,205	29	—	—
1900 . .	4,467	4,161	18,314	4,318
1914 . .	161,797	4,672	30,938	2,369
1918 . .	404,983	27,010	70,635	8,980
1919 . .	623,618	19,907	101,712	7,603
1920 . .	382,177	19,013	91,577	8,685
1921 . .	270,810	5,627	63,765	2,374

Other subsidiary domestic occupations open to the farmer to enable him to eke out his scanty earnings are straw-plaiting, mat-making, spinning and weaving, with the old primitive appliances, while many farmers near the coasts combine fishing with farming.

Fully half of the *forest* land in the Empire is owned by the State or by the Imperial household, and of the balance a large share is held by temples and other public corporations. The industry, which in the years following the Restoration was allowed to run to waste, is now strictly controlled, and the havoc made by reckless consumption is being redeemed by scientific cultivation. The Government revenue derived from forests, which in 1876 was Yen 94,503, had in 1900 increased to Yen 2,271,020. In 1918–19 it was Yen 25,614,804, and its estimate for the financial year 1921–22 was Yen 32,057,000. The national revenue from this industry, under its present prudent and scientific control, is not only permanent but likely to increase very largely in the future.

Fish in Japan takes the place of meat in England as an article of diet, and the greater part of the catch is for domestic consumption. Fish and whale oil are, however, substantial exports to the United States and Great Britain, while the canning industry is now making some progress, and its products during and since the war have found their way to, and been appreciated in, England. A considerable export of salt fish and seaweed takes place to China. The most abundant fish are herring, sardine, cuttle-fish, cod, salmon, bonito and mackerel. Deep-sea fishing was formerly quite unknown, but it has recently been encouraged by bounties, and over 52,000 fishermen are now engaged in it, especially in cod and whale fishing. Japanese fishermen are also now exploiting the coasts of Korea and Sakhalin with considerable success, and they are not unknown off California and British Columbia. The following figures of values show that substantial advance is being made in the industry. The coast industry gives whole or part-time employment to nearly two million people.

Year.	Raw Fish. Total Catch.	Manufactured Fish Products.	Salt.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1900 . .	24,770	20,036	9,388
1917 . .	123,233	104,920	15,067
1918 . .	171,185	139,120	14,826
1919 . .	246,834	190,833	30,080

Japan cannot be said to be well supplied with minerals, except *copper* and *coal*. Formerly there were no doubt rich gold and silver deposits, and the supply of gold led to its lavish use for art purposes and to a large export both in the far-off days

when the Dutch held their profitable monopoly of foreign trade and in the initial year of modern international intercourse, but the mines are now of insignificant commercial importance. Mining is, however, considered to be one of the most important industries. It is conducted under rigid Government supervision, and it is steadily expanding, the total value of its products having grown from Yen 103 millions in 1909 to Yen 710 millions in 1919, almost a sevenfold increase in eleven years. The number of persons employed in the industry increased during the same period from 233 to 465 thousand. Its principal items with their quantities were :

Year.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Iron.	Coal.	Petroleum.
	Momme.	Momme.	Kin.	Kwan.	Tons.	Koku.
1900 .	566	15,681	40,528	6,624	7,488	767
1918 .	2,051	54,743	150,568	48,248	28,029	2,283
1919 .	1,939	42,822	130,737	55,828	31,271	2,128
1920 .	2,058	40,577	112,987	45,459	29,245	2,161

The consumption of coal may be taken as another index of a nation's economic advance, and the following figures are therefore of some interest :

Year.	Total Production.	Exported.	For Use in		
			Ships.	Railways.	Factories.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1909 .	15,048	2,890	3,667	1,238	4,319
1917 .	26,361	2,813	5,302	2,399	12,226
1918 .	28,029	2,197	5,274	2,940	14,243
1919 .	31,271	2,000	5,844	2,273	14,819

The export in the three succeeding years (in thousands of tons as in the table) has been—in 1920, 2,130 ; in 1921, 2,388 ; and in 1922 (to September 30), 1,244 tons.

The principal coalfields are in the islands of Kyushu and Hokkaido, the former producing about 75 per cent. and the latter 10 per cent. of the total output. There is in both islands an estimated supply of 1,500 million tons that can be economically worked. Coal is supplemented by one of the most abundant and accessible water supplies in the world, which is being utilised in the rapid development of cheap electricity both for motor and illuminating purposes.

Manufacturing industry has, as already indicated, advanced

with giant strides. The most striking instance of its success is perhaps to be found in *cotton*. Formerly Japan was a great importer of cotton piece-goods and yarn; now she is a great exporter of both and a great importer of raw cotton, which is now by a long way the most valuable item in Japan's import trade, and is interesting as a striking index of the change that has taken place in her industrial condition. In 1888 she had in all 24 spinning factories, with 113,856 spindles, producing 13 million lb. of yarn. In 1919 there were 332 factories, with nearly four million spindles, producing over 800 million lb. of yarn, and the invested capital was Yen 154 millions. The growth of the weaving industry is only less remarkable than that of the spinning. In 1883 the quantity of fabrics of every kind produced in Japan was 25 million yards. In 1893 it had increased to 605 million yards. Its progress during the present century is shown in the following table containing the values of the piece-goods produced in each year:

Year.	Number of Looms.	Silk.	Silk and Cotton Mixtures.	Cotton.	Hemp.	Woollen.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
		Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1907	772	94,564	24,101	103,590	4,094	19,851	2,353	248,553
1917	849	219,722	45,982	396,133	14,778	44,022	7,781	728,418
1918	890	377,902	71,137	624,216	17,955	85,938	12,126	1,189,274
1919	967	678,937	130,643	1,033,832	22,075	129,374	10,882	2,005,743

Other manufactured products are shown in the following table of their values:

Year.	Japanese Paper.	European Paper.	Matches.	Porcelain and Earthenware.	Matting.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1907 .	19,506	12,477	15,078	12,940	10,419
1917 .	36,283	59,218	33,068	29,338	13,749
1918 .	53,932	103,087	39,689	44,214	19,272
1919 .	79,574	112,714	45,953	64,660	31,612

Year.	Lacquered Ware.	Straw Plaits.	Leather.	Oil.	Knittings.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1907 .	7,561	4,224	8,969	10,943	6,599
1917 .	12,912	16,585	27,095	38,375	51,209
1918 .	16,191	16,387	34,713	54,404	68,589
1919 .	24,150	18,636	28,449	61,839	94,190

Manufacturing industry was formerly entirely domestic, carried on in individual households. Factories are in acquisition from the West, adopted at first timorously and hesitatingly, with Government aid, but now spreading rapidly. Their increase is shown below (in net figures):

Year.	Number of Factories run by Motors.	Factories not Run by Motors.	Total.	Number of Operatives.		
				Male.	Female.	Total.
1900 .	3,381	3,791	7,172	142,558	245,740	388,298
1917 .	14,310	6,656	20,966	567,844	713,120	1,280,964
1918 .	15,632	6,759	22,391	646,115	763,081	1,409,196
1919 .	17,653	6,178	23,831	619,976	770,966	1,390,942

The *shipbuilding* industry is one whose progress is scarcely less marked than that of the cotton. At the end of 1907 the number of registered merchant steamers built of steel or of steel and iron in Japan was 173, and at the end of 1919, 808. There are now four Imperial dockyards in which, with few exceptions, all the ships for the Imperial navy have been built and completely equipped since 1906, and great extensions in private ship-yards were made during the war. Since 1896 shipbuilding, as well as navigation, has been heavily subsidised at the immediate expense of the taxpayer, but the industry has since that date rapidly progressed to the undoubted benefit, in the long run, of the national welfare. In 1898 the first large ocean-going merchant steamer built in Japan, the *Hitachi Maru*, 6,000 tons, was launched from the Mitsubishi dockyard in Nagasaki, the oldest shipbuilding dockyard, the original foundations of which were laid by Dutch engineers under the Tokugawa. She was built for the Japan Steamship Company, and both in her design and construction was a complete success to her owners, but, as it was said at the time that her whole price was swallowed up in fines paid for exceeding the period allowed under the contract for her completion, the builders cannot have been so well satisfied. They are, however, a very wealthy family corporation. They were able to find consolation for their pecuniary loss in the pride of their achievement, both from the family and national points of view, and they have since profited so fully by their first lesson as to redeem all their initial loss. They now employ over 10,000 men, and during the four years of the war they completed 27 steamers of an aggregate of 160,000 tons. There are ten other large shipbuilding yards, exclusive of those owned by the

Government, some of which are capable of turning out fully-equipped steamers, both for passenger and cargo purposes, up to 12,000 tons, while all are conducted on the most modern scientific methods. In 1917 86 steamers, all over 1,000 tons, of an aggregate of 346,000 tons, were built, including several passenger steamers of the highest class, all over 8,000 tons gross tonnage; in 1918, 74 steamers of 501,000 tons; and in 1919, 133 steamers, with a total gross tonnage of 613,849, many exceeding 5,000 tons, and some as large as 11,000 tons, were built in the private yards. As evidence of what the Government dockyards can accomplish, it need only be mentioned that the four largest battleships in the world, each of 40,000 tons, were in 1921 under construction. All this has been attained in a country where sixty years ago nothing larger than an unseaworthy wooden junk of fifty tons could be produced. Japan was at the beginning of her foreign intercourse a ready purchaser, at very high prices, of steamers condemned in the West as out of date and economically useless, and throughout the sixties and early seventies of the last century it was seldom that there were not some old craft of this category anchored in the harbour of Yokohama and marked "for sale." Japan paid dearly for her early experience, but she learned her lesson. During the war all her dockyards were employed to their fullest capacity and made very large profits, and all her mercantile fleet, whether the ships comprising it were bought from abroad or built by herself, are of the first class.

As in all other countries in the world, she suffered from the depression in this industry that followed on the war, and in 1920 only 93 vessels of 433,266 tons represented the output of yards with a building capacity of over 1¼ million tons. In 1921 several yards were closed; others, the wealthiest, curtailed their work, and the industry was mainly supported by the Admiralty assigning to the private yards a share in the construction of the fighting ships that were to be provided under the extended naval programme, passed by the Diet in the session of that year, before naval expansion was fettered by the Washington pact.

In 1870 Japan owned a small fleet of old condemned British steamers, of the business management and navigation of which she had primitive ideas. They were employed solely for coasting trade. In 1899 she possessed 1,221 steamers of 510,007 tons gross tonnage. In 1919 her tonnage had increased to 2,910,000, her ships being of the first class according to their size, and so well managed that all the great companies paid substantial

dividends even before the Great War, while during its course they had the fullest share in the world-wide prosperity of the shipping trade. In 1920 the net earnings of seventeen companies, with an aggregate paid-up capital of Yen 248,540,000 and reserve funds of Yen 179,274,000, were Yen 35,703,000 (they were Yen 101,290,000 [all net figures] in the previous year), and the three largest companies whose flags are seen in foreign ports, the Japan Mail Steamship Company, the Osaka Mercantile and the Oriental Steamship Company, paid respective dividends of 35, 18 and 12 per cent., as against 50, 40 and 20 in the preceding year, besides adding very large sums to reserves, already large. The receipts of shipping owners from foreign countries during the four years of the war, exclusive of those acquired from the domestic and coast trade, amounted to an aggregate of Yen 1,084 millions, made up of freight 644 millions, charters 244 millions and sales 196 millions. Some of the shipping records during the war are almost startling. In 1917, three small companies owning 8 steamers between them paid dividends of 500, 530 and 610 per cent. respectively, while another, owning 5 steamers of an aggregate of 17,000 tons, with a capital of Yen 3 millions, paid successive dividends of 128, 200 and 150 per cent. in the three years 1917–19.

In 1870 *internal transport* was carried on by means of pack horses, and coast transport principally by clumsy sailing junks. The external trade was borne entirely by ships under foreign flags, among which the British, of course, largely predominated. The first *railway*, constructed with foreign capital by British engineers, even by British navvies, managed by British experts and the engines driven and stoked by British workmen, was opened in 1872. Its length was 18 miles. Now Japan is entirely independent of foreign aid in either construction or management. Her progress is illustrated by the following figures for the financial year ending on March 31 :

Year.	Miles Open.	Number of Engines.	Passenger Carriages.	Goods Cars.	Number of Passengers.	Freight.
	Net.	Net.	Net.	Net.		Tons.
1900 .	3,635	1,214	4,151	16,551	102,115	11,820
1918 .	7,834	3,289	8,498	51,940	319,490	57,984
1919 .	8,014	3,416	8,749	54,432	375,049	63,788
1920 .	8,208	3,635	9,302	57,593	467,563	72,298

Year.	Expenditure.	Receipts.	Cost of Construction.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1900 . .	18,833	38,219	358,694
1918 . .	150,694	201,643	975,847
1919 . .	215,683	268,856	1,056,203
1920 . .	271,373	340,002	1,188,162

Of the total mileage, 6,203 miles are those of railways owned by the Government, and 2,005, almost entirely light railways, by private companies. All are well and economically managed, remarkably free from accidents, and until the close of the war both fares and freight were cheap, the average passenger fare per mile being in 1918, sen 1.39 ($\frac{3}{8}$ths of 1*d.*), and the freight per ton, sen 1.79 ($\frac{5}{8}$ths of 1*d.*); but these rates have been twice revised and very substantially increased since the Armistice. These figures refer only to the railways in Japan proper. Japan also owns 1,314 miles of railway in Korea and 1,221 miles in Formosa, while the South Manchuria Railway Company, a great corporation with very wide industrial ramifications, owns 866 miles in Manchuria. There are 1,059 miles of municipal and private electric tramways in operation with a paid-up capital of Yen 496 millions. An ambitious scheme for the improvement and extension of the existing railway system was embodied in a Bill passed by the Diet in 1920. The whole will involve an expenditure of over Yen 1,400 millions, spread over a period of ten years. The improvements are to include electrification, the doubling of several existing single-track lines and the widening of the gauges in others. New lines are planned to the extent of 3,300 miles. According to the estimates for the current financial year (1921–22), the receipts from all sources of the Government railways will amount to Yen 495 millions and the expenditure to Yen 350 millions.

Postal services as far as concerned the general public were practically unknown before the year 1870, and the isolation of the people, not only within the borders of Japan but within those of the separate fiefs in which they passed their lives with little or no intercourse with their neighbours, rendered them unnecessary, though very efficient courier services, by which a letter could be transmitted in three days from Yedo (Tokyo) to Osaka, a distance of 350 miles, were maintained both by the Government and by certain transport companies. There are many authentic instances in which the time just mentioned was considerably shortened. The first domestic service was organised

on a very small and tentative scale, but both the foreign and domestic services are now well developed in their organisation and in the use made of them by the people, much more so indeed than in Italy or Spain. There are complete systems of telegraphs, telephones and savings banks. In 1870 the whole service was conducted by 176 regular officials. Its expenditure was Yen 105 thousand and its receipts Yen 59 thousand, and the total number of letters posted was a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, being about one letter annually for every thirteen individuals in the whole population. Its progress in the present century may be illustrated by the following figures :

Year.	Number of Post and Telegraph Offices.	Number of Post Offices.	Total.	Mails.	Parcels.	Telegrams.	Number of Telephone Offices.	Telephones.
	Net.	Net.	Net.	Millions.	Millions.	Millions.	Net.	Millions.
1900	1,450	3,013	4,463	628	6	14	63	46
1910	3,951	2,995	6,946	1,465	20	28	1,554	423
1918	5,462	2,185	7,647	2,362	33	54	3,700	1,564
1919	5,561	2,203	7,764	2,784	40	60	3,889	1,821
1920	5,779	2,121	7,900	3,359	41	77	4,047	1,999

The Savings Banks figures bear eloquent testimony to the increasing prosperity of the lower classes. The deposits in both those administered by the Post Office and by ordinary companies have increased as under :

—	1900.	1910.	1914.	1919.	1920.	1921.
	Millions of Yen.	Millions of Yen.	Millions of Yen.	Millions of Yen.	Millions of Yen.	Millions of Yen.
Post Office . . .	24	127	189	605	712	900
Savings Banks (balance of deposits at the end of each financial year). . .	79	278	376	1,777	1,763	—

CHAPTER V

LABOUR CONDITIONS AND THE FUTURE

THE foregoing figures will convey valuable lessons to those who read them. Japan is now everywhere recognised as a great military Power, and it is well within the range of human possibilities and of her own ambition and capacity that she may possibly be, within what is a very brief span in the lifetime of a nation, the equal of the greatest in the world. The hegemony of the Western Pacific is now hers beyond dispute. That of the Asiatic continent is within her view, and the time may come when her armies, like those of Jengkis Khan, may be " victorious from the coasts of China to the banks of the Dnieper." In her own islands she may well, within another fifty years, have a population of 120 millions, for whose necessaries she must provide. She cannot feed them, and she has, therefore, every encouragement that national exigencies can give to continue, earnestly and vigorously, in her present expanding career both of territorial acquisition and of domestic industry.

Hitherto, Japanese manufacturers and traders have enjoyed exceptional advantages under a Government of marvellous foresight, capacity and patriotism. They have had the advantages of a protective customs tariff; they have had the paternal help of Government teaching and subsidies; they have had at their command an abundant supply of labour which, for its quality, was the cheapest in the world; and it was docile, intelligent, industrious and frugal. They still enjoy police measures of exceptional protection against strikes. They have been almost entirely unfettered by restrictive labour legislation. They have been masters, and hard exacting masters, merciless in their exploitation of female and child labour.

The feudal spirit which made the commoner a serf did not wholly die at the Restoration, nor even when a Constitution of very limited scope was granted by the Emperor. The working-classes continued to be the same uncomplaining, ill-paid, over-

worked labourers that they had been in feudal days, though under the new order it was for the enrichment of the capitalist they toiled and not for the support of the high-born, proud nobleman, with his retinue of gallant knights, who was their sovereign lord in the fief in which their lives were passed. Their lot was even worse than it had been. Their former lord had his duties to them as they had to him and, knowing nothing of constitutional rights, they were happy and content under his paternal sway. To the newly-enriched capitalist, sprung from their own class, they have been mere machines, from which every particle of human energy was to be extracted to the last fraction, and the comfort or well-being, either in the present or in the future, either of themselves or of their children, in no wise concerned the masters for whose enrichment they toiled. Working women and girls were not only slaves but prisoners. More than 700,000 were employed in the textile factories, the majority on contract labour, bound to their masters for specified periods during which there was no legal escape for them. They were herded in barracoons, where, when their long hours of work were over, they passed their leisure in dull, soulless monotony, hardly ever stirring beyond the doors of their prisons, and cut off from all the joys of family life which are as dear to the Japanese as they are to the Irish. All the conditions of factory life in Japan during the last two glorious decades of Meiji were as severe as they were in England in the first two glorious decades of the reign of Queen Victoria. And it is to be remembered that factory life itself, even at its very best, was an innovation in Japan entirely subversive of all the domestic life and industry that had until then been universal throughout the nation.

But times are changing, changing for the lower strata of society as they did for their betters at the Restoration. The war brought immense wealth to Japan, wealth that must be counted by hundreds of millions. It went not to the people but to a limited number of profiteers. Wages rose threefold but the cost of living increased fourfold; and Japan, from being one of the cheapest, has become one of the dearest countries of the world in which to live, so much so as to exercise a very serious effect on the cost of industrial production. The commercial slump that was universal throughout the world in 1921 manifested itself in an intensified form in Japan. Discontent was widespread; there were serious commercial crises; and labour, learning its lessons, as the Government formerly learned its lessons, from Europe, is now becoming assertive of its rights and clamouring for a larger share in the joys of life. Socialism has

gained its foothold among the reverential subjects of the Vicegerent of the Gods, and though Socialists who make themselves too prominent are sent to prison, as they were in England not very long ago, though their meetings are broken up by the police and not only all reports excluded from the daily Press but all literature of Socialist tendency, whether Japanese or European, confiscated and destroyed, the doctrine still advances; and it has permeated the working-classes, who are now manifesting a spirit of assertion in which they were entirely lacking a very few years ago. Labour friendly societies have been founded, and many trades have now their unions. There are even political labour parties—the Rikken Rodo Kwai, or Constitutional Labour Party, and the Rodo Domei Kwai, or Labour Federation —taking an active part in current politics that have been hitherto assumed to be a closed book to all the working-classes. It has been discovered that without representation in the Diet their interests must suffer, and that they cannot hope to have their own representatives, men of their own class, sharing their own interests, while the present restricted electoral franchise continues. An agitation for universal suffrage, supported by experienced politicians, has attained a wide development, both in the capital and in the country, and it became so insistent and expressive that it necessitated a dissolution of Parliament. The agitation was temporarily stilled by the unfavourable results of the election, but the labour movement goes on; and serious labour problems are now facing both the Government, that has hitherto safely ignored them, and the capitalists who have safely defied them.

These problems are intensified not only by domestic unrest but by the reflex of the progress of labour influence in Europe. Japan was called into the International League of Labour, and her delegates were present in the labour conference at Washington in 1920. They were far from being real representatives of labour, being practically Government nominees, and their choice was so unpopular that the principal among them "was obliged to steal out of the country like a fugitive," instead of with the acclaim that befitted the chosen ambassador of labour, setting out on a great international mission. In Washington they were obliged to give way to the general spirit of the conference and to promise some amelioration in the servile conditions of labour in Japan, both in the curtailment of working hours and in the raising of wages to something nearer the European standard. A Factory Act was passed by the Diet so long ago as 1911, but though its provisions were, as far as regards the interests of the workmen,

of an elementary character, it was only tentatively put into force in 1916. Clauses of the Peace Regulations enacted by the Diet in 1900, under which combined action of workers is prohibited under pain of imprisonment and fine, still remain in force, so that both law and police continue to be almost wholly in favour of the employers. Working hours, though, in deference to foreign opinion and influence, substantially shortened in several industries since the Washington Conference, still remain inordinately long when judged by English standards and, the law notwithstanding, strikes, not entirely free from sabotage or even from riots and wrecking of a serious nature, have been frequent since the Armistice; and they have not always been unsuccessful in their objects. Cotton-spinners, seamen, arsenal employees, tobacco-workers, miners, tram-drivers, all took their turn, and some interesting novel expedients were adopted. Cotton-spinners attended without any defaulters, as usual, during the regular working hours, and kept the machinery in order. But, otherwise, they simply idled in the yards. Tram-drivers did not desert their cars nor cease work at the depots and power-stations. They simply rushed their cars backwards and forwards between the termini, disregarding all appeals to take up or set down passengers en route.

More interesting and more indicative of the rising spirit of New Japan than the unrest among the working-classes of the male sex is that of the female. Women in Japan, as already told in this volume, occupied a very lowly position even in their own domestic circles throughout all the Middle Ages. Tradition and customs, fortified by centuries of existence, die slowly; and constitutional progress, however great among the men, did not extend to the women even of the classes from among whom came the most radical reformers and agitators. Men who were commoners by birth and breeding were in the days of feudalism serfs in the general political community. Women were also serfs, not only in the community but in their own families, *vis-à-vis* their male relatives who were crying out for their own emancipation. They had a double servitude to conquer, and they have succeeded to some degree.

The demand for universal suffrage does not as yet include female suffrage: universal in this case means only adult manhood; but labour unrest has extended to female workers, who have now their unions, both industrial and political, and their friendly societies, which form inner circles in the National Federation of Labour. They too have their strikes; and in their conduct of their strikes the gentle, shrinking and submissive

wives and daughters have given evidence of capacity and determination to assert and maintain their own rights and to combine in defence of the interests that are common to all labour. Over a million women and girls are now engaged in industrial occupations, the majority in the spinning and weaving factories, while women are, as in England, slowly but surely making their way into clerical occupations as clerks and typists in banks and commercial companies, in post- and railway-offices. Large numbers are employed in the telephone exchanges and in the teaching and nursing professions, and there are not a few women doctors, artists, writers, journalists and musicians, of more or less fame and distinction. But marriage is still their chief career. Spinsters over twenty years of age are rare.

The rights of labour and its clamour for a larger share in the comforts and joys of life will undoubtedly obtain increasing recognition, and even in a country where all classes are, from the highest to the lowest, saturated with the spirit of militarism, labour will in due time become a political force as it has done in England. There may be more commercial crises, but neither electoral reform nor the amelioration of the conditions of labour nor commercial crises checked the industrial development of England, nor will they in Japan, in which there is and always has been another great asset, a degree of patriotism and loyalty that extends to all classes and is unequalled elsewhere in the world, to which every individual and family interest is always ungrudgingly sacrificed. Manhood, even universal, suffrage may become the law of the land. There may be a Diet of agitators and revolutionaries. The cry and tenets of Socialism may spread themselves as widely as did those of Enlightenment and Reform, the *Bummei Kaikwa* of fifty years ago, when the end of all things that savoured of Old Japan seemed to be at hand; but the political and moral influence of the Emperor will never cease to dominate all classes and all parties, not till the Gospel of Christ ceases to rule the hearts of the most Christian people of Europe. He has only to say the country needs it and it is given, whatever it may be, life or property. How can the progress of such a nation ever fail?

C—MISCELLANEOUS

I. DEFENCE

I. Army

The construction of the Japanese Army is based on the German model.

Service in the army (or navy) is universal and compulsory (twentieth to fortieth year), and is as follows:

Active Army (*Geneki*):
With the colours 3 years.
Active Reserve (Yobi) 4 years and 4 months.
Second Line (*Kobi*)—10 years.
Territorial Army (*Kokumin*)—2 years and 8 months.
} 20 years.

Supplementary Reserve (*Hoju*)—12 years and 4 months; and subsequently they pass to the Kokumin like the remainder.

The field army consists of twenty-one divisions (including two divisions in Korea and one in Manchuria), and a number of independent cavalry and artillery brigades.

A division includes twelve battalions, a cavalry and an artillery regiment, a battalion of engineers, etc. etc., totalling at war-strength about 16,000 men and 24 guns.

The approximate peace and war strengths are 250,000 and 450,000.

The rifle is the "38th year" (1905) pattern, an improved Mauser (cal. ·256 in.), and the field gun a Krupp 7·5-cm. one, firing a 14·3-lb. shell.

Military Budget, 1922–23, £36,878,034.

II. Navy

Japan has latterly developed important ship-building yards and is now independent of Europe for the building, arming and equipment of her war-vessels. Officers and men are of very high class and thoroughly capable.

Warships retained.	No.	Tonnage.
Dreadnoughts	10	20,800 to 30,600
Armoured cruisers	5	9,800 to 14,600
Light cruisers	16	3,400 to 4,950
Besides Torpedo gun-boats, Destroyers, Torpedo-boats, Submarines, etc.		

The coast is divided into five maritime districts.

Naval Budget, 1922, £62,756,000.

II. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE EMPERORS OF JAPAN

THE present Emperor of Japan, according to the official list authenticated by the Government, is the one hundred and twenty-second Sovereign in the direct line of descent from the first Emperor, Jimmu. Of the whole number nine were Empresses, but two of these Empresses abdicated and subsequently reascended the throne, in the first instance under a different name, and in each case their two reigns are counted separately. When allowance is made for the double reigns of the two Empresses and the regency of the Empress Jingo, the total number of sovereigns becomes one hundred and twenty-one.

The names in the list are posthumous or canonical. Each Emperor had his individual Japanese name—that of Jimmu was Kamu-Yamato-Iware-Biko or Prince Divine-Yamato-Iware (Yamato is the province in which Jimmu established his capital and Iware the name of a locality in it), but the Emperors were so sacred that their names were never pronounced in their lifetime, and it is only by their canonical names that they are known to history. The first recorded instance of the use of the personal name of an Emperor in his lifetime is that of the Emperor Meiji in 1868, when he signed the document in which he announced to the sovereigns of all the foreign nations that he would "henceforward exercise supreme authority both in the internal and external affairs of the country." Whenever an Emperor was mentioned during his life it was always by the title Tenno ("Lord of Heaven"), or Tenshi ("Son of Heaven"), with the addition, in the ordinary vernacular of daily life, of the honorific "Sama," a word that is equally applied for politeness' sake to the Emperor or to a commoner. In the case of the Emperor, "Tenshi Sama" would be rendered as "His Majesty the Emperor." In that of a commoner, "Sama" would simply mean "Mr." The term Mikado, by which Europeans are accustomed to speak of the Emperor, means "Honorable Gate," involving the same idea as that which is contained in "Sublime Porte"; it is rarely used by his subjects. Other terms are: Kotei, the Sovereign who rules over nations; Kinri, the forbidden interior; Dairi (the term almost invariably used by the Jesuits), the Imperial Palace; and Chotei, the Hall of Audience.

In the following list translations are appended to the majority of the names, and where there is none the name is taken from a locality—Nijo, Rokujo and Shijo, for example, are the names of wards in Kyoto; Tsuchi Mikado was that of a palace; Fushimi and Nara are well-known towns near Kyoto. The prefix "Go" signifies the second of the same name ("Go" literally means "after"). "Go Ichijo" thus means "Ichijo the Second." The prefix is, however, found in a few instances in which there was no preceding Emperor of the same name, as in those of Go Komatsu (99th Emperor), Go Nara (104th Emperor) and Go Saiyin (110th Emperor). The explanation of this anomaly is that the name coincides with that of a district in which a former Emperor either lived or was buried. There is no instance of three sovereigns of the same name. The dates given as those of the beginning of each reign are those of the formal investiture of the new sovereign, which seldom took place till a year, and sometimes not till a longer period, after his predecessor's death. Slight discrepancies occasionally occur in the ages of the sovereigns at accession, and at death or abdication, and in the length of their reigns; but these are unavoidable owing to the different months in which the years began under the Chinese and the Julian or Gregorian calendars.

I. The Legendary Epoch

—	Date of Accession.	Date of Birth.	Date of Death.	—
	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	
1. Jimmu (Divine Valour) .	660	712	585	
2. Suizei (Tranquillity) .	581	633	549	Son of Jimmu
3. Annei (Peace) . .	548	568	511	Son of Suizei
4. Itoku (Admirable Virtue)	510	554	477	Son of Annei
5. Kosho (Filial Piety) .	476	507	393	Son of Itoku
6. Koan (Piety and Peace) .	392	427	291	Son of Kosho
7. Korei (Spirit of Piety) .	290	342	215	Son of Koan
8. Kogen (Origin of Piety) .	214	273	158	Son of Korei
9. Kaikwa (Civilisation) .	158	200	98	Son of Kogen
10. Sujin (Honour the Gods).	97	150	30	Son of Kaikwa
11. Suinin (Dispense Benevolence) . . .	29	70	A.D. 70	Son of Sujin
12. Keiko (Great Conduct) .	A.D. 71	13	130	Son of Suinin
13. Seimu (Perform Duty) .	131	A.D. 82	190	Son of Keiko
14. Chuai (Middle Grief) .	192	148	200	Son of Yamato dake no Mikoto
Jingo (Merit of the Gods) (Empress Regent) .	201	169	269	Great-grand-daughter of Kaikwa
15. Ojin (Meeting the Gods) .	270	200	310	Son of Chuai
16. Nintoku (Benevolence and Virtue) . . .	313	289	399	Son of Ojin Tenno

II. The Dawn of History and the Great Reforms

—	Date of Accession.	Date of Birth.	Date of Death.	—
17. Richiu (Treading in the Middle)	400	336	406	Eldest son of Nintoku
18. Hanzei (Facing Right)	406	352	410	Brother of Richiu
19. Ingyo (Sincerely Courteous)	412	373	453	Brother of Hanzei
20. Anko (Peace)	453	400	456	Son of Ingyo
21. Yuriaku (Grand Counsel)	457	417	479	Son of Anko
22. Seinei (Pure and Truthful)	480	444	484	Son of Yuriaku
23. Kenzo (Illustrious Ancestry)	485	449	487	Grandchild of Richiu
24. Ninken (Benevolence and Talent)	488	447	498	Brother of Kenzo
25. Muretsu (Martial Order)	499	449	506	Son of Ninken
26. Keidai (Succeed Body)	507	450	531	Descendant in 5th generation of Chuai.
27. Ankan (Peaceful Space)	534	465	535	Son of Keidai
28. Senkwa (Spread Civilisation)	536	466	539	Brother of Ankan
29. Kimmei (Reverence)	539	508	571	Son of Keidai
30. Bidatsu (Cleverness)	572	537	585	Son of Kimmei
31. Yomei (Employ Enlightenment)	585	518	587	Son of Kimmei
32. Sujun (Venerable and Lofty)	588	519	592	Son of Yomei
33. Suiko (Reasoning from Antiquity) (Empress)	593	553	628	Daughter of Kimmei
34. Jomei (Extend Enlightenment)	629	592	641	Grandson of Bidatsu
35. Kokyoku (Royal Perfection) (Empress)	642	593	—	Great-grand-daughter of Bidatsu
36. Kotoku (Piety and Virtue)	645	595	654	Brother of Kokyoku
37. Saimei (Uniform Bright) (Empress—re-enthronement of Kokyoku under a new name)	655	593	661	
38. Tenchi (Heavenly Intelligence)	668	613	671	Son of Jomei
39. Kobun (Pious Hearing)	672	647	672	Son of Tenchi
40. Temmu (Heavenly Valour)	673	621	686	Son of Tenchi
41. Jito (Supreme Control) (Empress)	690	644	702	Daughter of Tenchi
42. Mommu (Civil and Military)	697	682	707	Grandson of Jito

III. The Nara Epoch

—	Date of Accession.	Date of Birth.	Date of Death.	—
43. Gemmyo (Original Enlightenment) (Empress)	708	660	721	Daughter of Tenchi
44. Gensho (Original Righteousness) (Empress)	715	679	748	Daughter of Gemmyo
45. Shomu (Saintly Valour)	724	700	756	Nephew of Gensho
46. Koken (Modesty) (Empress)	749	717	—	Daughter of Shomu
47. Junnin (Magnanimous Benevolence)	759	732	765	Son of Koken
48 Koken (Re-enthroned)	765	717	770	
49. Konin (Brilliant Benevolence)	770	708	781	Grandson of Tenchi
50. Kwammu (Magnificent Valour)	782	736	806	Son of Konin

IV. The Heian Epoch

—	Date of Accession.	Date of Birth.	Date of Death.	—
51. Heijo	806	773	824	Son of Kwammu
52. Saga	810	785	842	Son of Kwammu
53. Junwa (Magnanimous Peace)	824	785	840	Son of Kwammu
54. Nimmyo (Benevolent Enlightenment)	834	809	850	Son of Saga
55. Montoku (Civil Virtue)	851	826	858	Son of Nimmyo
56. Seiwa (Peace)	859	849	880	Son of Montoku
57. Yozei (Positive Accomplish)	877	867	949	Son of Seiwa
58. Koko (Brilliant Piety)	885	829	887	Son of Nimmyo
59. Uda	888	866	931	Son of Koko
60. Daigo	898	884	930	Son of Uda
61. Shujaku	931	916	946	Son of Daigo
62. Muragami	947	925	967	Son of Daigo
63. Reizei	968	950	1011	Son of Muragami
64. Enyu (Whole Softening)	970	958	991	Son of Muragami
65. Kwazan (Flowery Mountain)	985	968	1008	Son of Reizei
66. Ichijo	987	979	1011	Son of Enyu
67. Sanjo	1012	974	1017	Brother of Kwazan
68. Go Ichijo	1017	1007	1036	Son of Ichijo
69. Go Shujaku	1037	1009	1046	Son of Ichijo
70. Go Reizei	1047	1024	1068	Son of Go Shujaku
71. Go Sanjo	1069	1032	1072	Son of Go Reizei
72. Shirakawa	1073	1052	1129	Son of Go Sanjo
73. Horikawa	1087	1078	1107	Son of Shirakawa
74. Toba	1108	1102	1156	Son of Horikawa
75. Sutoku (Reverend Virtue)	1124	1118	1164	Son of Toba
76. Konoye (Life-guards)	1142	1139	1155	Son of Toba

V. The Gempei Wars

—	Date of Accession.	Date of Birth.	Date of Death.	—
77. Go Shirakawa	1156	1126	1192	Son of Toba
78. Nijo	1159	1142	1165	Son of Go Shirakawa
79. Rokujo	1166	1163	1176	Son of Nijo
80. Takakura	1169	1160	1180	Son of Go Shirakawa
81. Antoku (Tranquil Virtue)	1181	1180	1185	Son of Takakura

VI. The Kamakura Epoch

—	Date of Accession.	Date of Birth.	Date of Death.	—
82. Go Toba	1186	1179	1239	Younger son of Takakura
83. Tsuchimikado	1199	1194	1231	Son of Go Toba
84. Juntoku (Meek Virtue)	1211	1196	1242	Brother of Tsuchimikado
85. Chukiyo (Middle Respect)	1222	1212	1234	Son of Juntoku
86. Go Horikawa	1222	1217	1234	Grandson of Takakura
87. Shijo	1232	1229	1242	Son of Go Horikawa
88. Go Saga	1242	1219	1272	Son of Tsuchimikado
89. Fukakusa	1247	1242	1304	Son of Go Saga
90. Kameyama	1259	1248	1305	Son of Go Saga
91. Go Uda	1274	1266	1324	Eldest son of Kameyama
92. Fushimi	1288	1264	1317	Son of Fukakusa
93. Go Fushimi	1298	1287	1336	Son of Fushimi
94. Go Nijo	1302	1283	1307	Son of Go Uda
95. Hanazono (Flower-garden)	1308	1296	1348	Younger brother of Go Fushimi
96. Go Daigo	1318	1287	1339	Second son of Go Uda

VII. The Muromachi Epoch

—	Date of Accession.	Date of Birth.	Date of Death.	—
97. Go Murakami	1339	1327	1368	Son of Go Daigo
98. Go Kameyama	1373	1346	1424	Son of Go Murakami
99. Go Komatsu	1393	1376	1433	Son of Go Kameyama
100. Shoko (Admiring Enlightenment)	1412	1400	1428	Son of Komatsu
101. Go Hanazono	1429	1418	1470	Grandson of Suko of the Northern Dynasty
102. Go Tsuchimikado	1465	1441	1500	Son of Go Hanazono
103. Go Kashiwabara	1501	1463	1526	Son of Go Tsuchimikado
104. Go Nara	1527	1495	1557	Son of Go Kashiwabara
105. Ojimachi	1558	1518	1593	Son of Go Nara

NOTE.—During this epoch what are called the False Emperors (vide Chapter VIII) reigned at Kyoto. They are not historically recognised as sovereigns with the exception of the last one who, on the transfer of the Imperial Regalia from the Southern to the Northern Court, became the 99th Emperor of the legitimate line. Some histories include the Emperor Chokei (1368–1372) in the list of the Emperors of the Southern Dynasty, and therefore the 98th Emperor of the line. If this is done, the total number of the Emperors is increased by one, and the Emperor Yoshihito now (1921) on the throne is the 123rd instead of the 122nd of the line. Chokei is, however, not included in the official list issued by the Imperial Government, as it appears that he was never vested with the Regalia. The False Emperors were:

Kogon	1333–1336
Komyo	1336–1348
Suko	1349–1352
Go Kogon	1352–1371
Go Enyu	1372–1382
Go Komatsu	1382–1393

VIII. THE MOMOYAMA, YEDO AND MEIJI EPOCHS

—	Date of Accession.	Date of Birth.	Date of Death.	—
106. Go Yozei	1587	1570	1617	Grandson of Ojimachi
107. Go Mizuno	1612	1595	1680	Son of Go Yozei
108. Myosho (Manifest Righteousness) (Empress)	1630	1622	1696	Daughter of Go Mizuno
109. Go Komyo	1644	1632	1654	Brother of Myosho
110. Go Saiyin	1654	1636	1685	Son of Go Mizuno
111. Reigen (Marvellous Originality)	1663	1653	1732	Son of Go Mizuno
112. Higashiyama	1687	1674	1709	Son of Reigen
113. Nakamikado	1710	1698	1735	Son of Higashiyama
114. Sakuramachi	1736	1719	1750	Son of Nakamikado
115. Momozono	1747	1740	1762	Son of Sakuramachi
116. Go Sakuramachi (Empress)	1763	1739	1813	Sister of Momozono
117. Go Momozono	1771	1757	1779	Son of Momozono
118. Kokaku (Enlightened Standing)	1780	1770	1840	Great-grandson of Higashiyama
119. Ninko (Benevolent Piety)	1817	1799	1846	Son of Kokaku
120. Komei (Pious Enlightenment)	1847	1830	1867	Son of Ninko
121. Meiji (Enlightened Government)	1867	1852	1912	Son of Komei
122. Yoshihito (Reigning Emperor)	1912	1879		Son of Meiji

III. THE DYNASTIES OF THE SHOGUNS

I. The Minamoto Family (1185–1219)

Yoritomo . .	1192–1199	Governed from 1185, but was only appointed Shogun by the Emperor in 1192
Yoriiye (eldest son of Yoritomo)	1199–1203	Deposed and murdered by his maternal grandfather
Sanetomo (second son of Yoritomo)	1203–1219	Assassinated by his nephew, Yoriiye's son

II. The Hojo Family (1220–1333)

Note.—None of the Hojo family ever assumed the title of Shogun, but they ruled as Shikken (Power-holders or Regents), acting as deputies for Shoguns appointed on their nomination by the Emperor. The names of the Shoguns and of the contemporary Hojo Regents are as follows :

SHOGUNS

Fujiwara Yoritsune .	1220–1244	Age at accession, 9—deposed and sent back to Kyoto under a guard
Fujiwara Yoritsugu .	1244–1251	Age at accession, 6—deposed
Prince Munetaka (son of the Emperor Go Saga) . . .	1251–1266	Age at accession, 13—deposed
Prince Koreyasu (son of Munetaka)	1266–1289	Deposed and sent to Kyoto, heels upwards, in a palanquin, by the Regent Sadatoki
Prince Hisaakira (third son of the Emperor Fukakusa)	1289–1308	Age at accession, 16—deposed
Prince Morikuni (son of Hisaakira)	1308–1333	Age at accession, 7—deposed, and died after the taking of Kamakura

REGENTS

1. Tokimasa .	1199–1205	Did not assume the title of Regent, but governed from the death of Yoritomo. In 1205 he nominally retired from active life in favour of his son Yoshitoki, but continued to exercise his influence till his death, 1215
2. Yoshitoki .	1205–1224	
3. Yasutoki .	1225–1242	Son of Yoshitoki
4. Tsunetoki . .	1242–1246	Grandson of Yasutoki
5. Tokiyori . .	1246–1256	Brother of Tsunetoki—abdicated and died 1263, aged 37
6. Nagatoki . .	1256–1270	Nephew of Tokiyori
7. Tokimune . .	1270–1284	Son of Tokiyori
8. Sadatoki . .	1284–1300	Son of Tokimune—succeeded at the age of 14—abdicated and became a priest, but continued to direct till his death in 1311
9. Morotoki .	1300–1311	Grandson of Tokiyori
10. Takatoki .	1315–1333	Son of Sadatoki—killed himself when Kamakura was taken. Takatoki being only nine years of age at Morotoki's death the regency was conducted by commissioners till 1315

III. The Ashikaga Family (1333–1573)

1. Takauji . .	1335–1358	Founder of the dynasty—appointed Shogun in 1335
2. Yoshiakira .	1358–1367	Abdicated
3. Yoshimitsu .	1368–1393	Abdicated
4. Yoshimochi .	1395–1422	Abdicated
5. Yoshikazu .	1423–1425	The second, third and fourth Shoguns each abdicated in favour of his son. Yoshikazu, the fifth, died at the age of nineteen, and his father, Yoshimochi, then resumed office and held it till his death in 1428, when he was succeeded by his younger brother
6. Yoshinori . .	1428–1441	Murdered
7. Yoshikatsu .	1441–1443	Died while still a youth, and was succeeded by his brother; both were sons of Yoshinori
8. Yoshimasa .	1443–1473	Abdicated in favour of his son
9. Yoshihisa . .	1473–1489	Died; succeeded by his brother
10. Yoshitane . .	1490–1493	Deposed by his own Ministers in favour of his son
11. Yoshisumi .	1494–1507	Deposed and his father restored to office, which he held till his death in 1521
12. Yoshiharu .	1521–1545	Abdicated in favour of his son
13. Yoshiteru . .	1546–1565	Murdered by his cousin Yoshihide, who assumed his office for three years
14. Yoshiaki . .	1568–1573	Deposed by Nobunaga and bereft of all power; but though retired to a monastery, continued to hold the title of Shogun till his death in 1597

IV. The Military Dictators (1573–1603)

Note.—The title of Shogun fell into abeyance after the overthrow of the Ashikaga in 1573 and was not revived till 1603, when it was conferred on Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Dynasty.

1. Nobunaga . .	1573–1582	
2. Hideyoshi . .	1586–1598	Between 1582 and 1586 Hideyoshi governed in the name of Nobunaga's grandson, a child
3. Hideyori . .	1598–1600	Government carried on by a council in the name of Hideyori, a child. In 1600 Iyeyasu overthrew the council and took the Government into his own hands, but was not appointed Shogun by the Emperor till 1603

V. The Tokugawa Family (1600–1868)

1. Iyeyasu . .	1600–1605	The founder of the dynasty. Governed from 1600, but was not appointed Shogun by the Emperor till 1603. In 1605 he abdicated in favour of his son, but continued himself to direct the Government till his death in 1616
2. Hidetada . .	1605–1623	Abdicated; died 1632
3. Iyemitsu . .	1623–1651	Abdicated; died 1652
4. Iyetsuna . .	1651–1680	
5. Tsunayoshi .	1681–1709	Murdered by his wife
6. Iyenobu . .	1709–1712	
7. Iyetsugu . .	1713–1716	
8. Yoshimune .	1717–1744	Abdicated; died 1751
9. Iyeshige . .	1745–1760	Abdicated; died 1761
10. Iyeharu . .	1762–1786	
11. Iyenari . .	1787–1836	Abdicated; died 1841
12. Iyeyoshi . .	1837–1852	
13. Iyesada . .	1853–1858	
14. Iyemochi . .	1858–1866	
15. Yoshinobu .	1866–1868	Known also as Keiki—that being the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters in which his name is written—and as Hitotsubashi, from the fact that he was, in his youth, adopted into the family of that name.

IV. THE EMPEROR MEIJI'S RESCRIPT ON EDUCATION

On October 30, 1890, in the twenty-third year of his reign, the Emperor Meiji delivered the following Rescript, under his sign manual, to Count (afterwards Prince) Yamagata, the Prime Minister at that time, the Minister for Education being present, and on the following day a copy was sent to every school in the Empire with instructions that teachers and all education authorities should bear its spirit constantly in their minds and read and expound it to their pupils when assembled on festivals or other ceremonial occasions.

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may thus all attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of the Meiji.

This translation was made in the Department of Education by scholars specially convened for the purpose. When, after the Restoration, all things were changed in Japan, the system of education, which had lasted throughout the Tokugawa Shogunate, was reformed on Western models, but there was much friction in regard to ethical teaching, some wishing to base it on the time-honoured doctrines of Confucianism and Buddhism; others on the principles of pure ethics; some taking even Christianity as the guide. Much confusion resulted and continued until the publication of the above

Rescript, which became, and is now, the basis of all moral teaching throughout the Empire. All education in Japan is, and always has been, strictly secular, and even in the old Terakoya (Temple schools), the forerunners of the modern primary schools, religion had no place in the curriculum, though the teachers were all Buddhist priests. The only exception is in the teaching of loyalty to the Emperor, which, in Japan, is a part of all religion.

V. THE EMPEROR MEIJI'S RESCRIPT ON MILITARY SERVICE

On January 4, 1882, when all the officers and men of the Japanese army and navy rejoined their units of service on the expiration of general leave for the New Year holidays—the great annual social festival of Japan—the following Rescript of the Emperor Meiji, under his Imperial sign manual, was solemnly read to them on full-dress parade :

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT

Our country's troops have been led by the Emperors throughout all ages. The Emperor Jimmu, the founder of the Imperial dynasty, in person commanded the national forces and subdued the natives and rebels of the Central Provinces. Since he ascended the throne more than 2,500 years have elapsed, and during that interval, parallel with other changes, our military organisation has been frequently altered. In old times the Emperors themselves led their troops ; and although Empresses and Heirs Apparent sometimes acted in their place, yet there was no instance of the supreme military authority being entrusted to subjects. In the Middle Ages, both civil and military organisations were modelled on those of China at that period. Six Military Stations, and left and right Cavalry Bureaux were instituted, and a defensive army was established, and thus the military organisation was perfected. But the tranquillity which so long prevailed rendered the Government effeminate, and the military class spontaneously separated from the peasantry. The old system of universal conscription then naturally merged into one of volunteers, and these volunteers in the progress of time formed the Bu-shi (or samurai class). Thence onwards all war-like functions devolved solely upon the Bu-shi, into whose hands the great administrative powers also fell in consequence of the anarchy that prevailed throughout the Empire. The Government of military men that resulted continued in power for as long as some seven hundred years.[1] Although such a state of things was independent of human power, being produced in consequence of the changes of the times, yet it was none the less grievous, as it was not in accord with our national constitution, and it moreover infringed the organisation established by our progenitors. Still later, in the eras of Kokwa and Kayei [2] (1844–51), the military Government of the Tokugawa [3] decayed ; foreign difficulties supervened, and things came to such a pass that it was not altogether unlikely that We should suffer from the disdain of foreign nations. Our Grandfather, the Emperor Ninko, and Our Father, the Emperor Komei, were, therefore, seriously troubled on the subject. To them we feel thankful and deferential.

[1] From the foundation of the Shogunate by Yoritomo in the year 1192 to its abolition in 1868 on the accession to the throne of the Emperor Meiji.

[2] Titles of year-periods.

[3] The last dynasty of the Shoguns.

In the early days of Our Own succession, We being very young, the Shogun relinquished to us his political power, and the Daimio and Shomio[1] handed to us their fiefs; and, when all parts of the Empire were consolidated, a few years afterwards, We restored the ancient organisation of Government. This is partly, of course, due to the meritorious deeds of those loyal and virtuous civil and military servants who assisted us, and to the grace of Our forefathers who had generously favoured their subjects, yet it is also in part ascribable to the fact that Our subjects, being well acquainted with the principles of right, hold royalty in high esteem. Now, desiring to reform Our martial institutions, and to brighten the effulgence of Our country's glory, We have established Our military and naval organisations as they stand now, in this 15th year of Our reign (1882).

WE WIELD THE CHIEF MILITARY POWER; and, although the management of its details is entrusted to Our servants, yet its principal effect is possessed by us and shall never be vested in Our lieutenants. This principle must always be recognised, and will be bequeathed to Our descendants. The tenet that the Emperor holds the whole civil and military power being established, such an error[2] as that which originated in the times after the Middle Ages can, We trust, never occur again. We are the Commander-in-Chief of all of you, military and naval men. And hence, while We esteem you as Our members, you must regard Us as your head; and thus our relations will always be closely intimate. It depends upon your faithful discharge of your duties that We, protecting the country, can be able to render account to the grace of Heaven and the favour of Our ancestors. You ought to be as concerned as We are for the extension of Our national prestige. If our military organisation be perfected and its honour assured you will participate with Us in the fame acquired. Should you, carefully attending to your duties, conform to Our desire, and do your best for the protection of the country, the people will enjoy happiness and tranquillity for ever, and Our national influence will be brilliant. We have good hopes of you, military and naval men; and have some matters about which We wish to give you further instructions.

First.—Those serving in either branch must consider loyalty their principal duty. Of all those born in the Empire, are there any who would not do their best for its welfare? But naval and military men should specially take this to heart, as otherwise they will be wholly useless. Without patriotism they are no better than puppets. They must also be familiar with the arts and well versed in science. However well drilled and systematically organised, troops destitute of loyalty must resemble mere disorderly mobs in the time of active operations. The safeguard of the country and the maintenance of the national prestige are entrusted to the soldiery—and, therefore, you must remember that the development or decadence of your organisation is synonymous with the rise or fall of your country's fortune. Unattracted by the opinions expressed by the public, and regardless of politics, you should devote yourselves to your allegiance as your principal duty, esteeming fidelity weightier than mountains, and death lighter than a feather. Maintain your integrity; suffer calmly unexpected misfortunes; and thus preserve your fame unblemished.

Secondly.—Both land and sea forces must observe the etiquette of discipline. The Commander-in-Chief and the lowest soldier have their functions one towards the other. And all the military relations are not simply those of command on the one hand and obedience on the other; but among men of the same grade there are distinctions of age and youth, long service and new. Recruits should respect the older soldiers, and all inferiors should obey their superiors as they would Ourself. And this respect should be extended to officers and men of older service, even though belonging to another corps. For their part, superiors should not be haughty and overbearing. Except when the strict exercise of authority is necessary in the discharge of duty, the higher in position should be kind and courteous to those below him; and thus those of all ranks will work together for the Imperial cause. Anyone bearing arms who is regardless of this

[1] "Great names" and "small names"—i.e. the feudal nobility of the higher and lower degrees under the Shogunate.

[2] The assumption by the Shogunate of the administrative power of the Empire.

rule, rude to his betters or arrogant to his subordinates, must be deemed a poison to his service and an offender against his country.

Thirdly.—Military men should hold valour in the highest esteem. From remote ages heroism has been adored in Our domains; and, therefore, every subject in Our nation should be staunch. Still more should those whose duty it is to be always ready for battle constantly remember that they should be valiant. But of valour there are two degrees. Aggressive and boisterous behaviour is not courage. Hence those who serve should keep guard over their temper, and always act with due reflection. They should invariably do their duty with precision, neither despising a weak nor dreading a mighty foe. This is to be really intrepid. Hence those who have gallantry in true reverence will cultivate suavity in their intercourse with others, and endeavour to secure for themselves affection and respect. Should they be rough and violent on trifling provocation, people will come to dislike them and regard them as wolves. Attention must be paid to this matter.

Fourthly.—Military men should be inspired by mutual integrity and fidelity. This principle is applicable to the whole community, but more stringently to soldiers, who are impotent among their fellows without it. We may explain "integrity" as the performance of one's word, and "fidelity" as assiduity in the discharge of one's duty. To be thus just and faithful one must consider, from the very commencement, all one's actions and one's ability to do what one has promised. If one thoughtlessly pledges his word to anything which he is not certain he can perform with integrity and fidelity, he is liable to expose himself to great trouble. Subsequent repentance will be of no avail. Therefore it is well to deliberate beforehand; and, if one finds success unattainable, to relinquish the project soon. From ages past there have been many men—brave and great—who have left their names sullied to posterity because they have pursued trifles and private aims, in defiance of great and public principles. Profound respect must be paid to this subject.

Fifthly.—Soldiers should be frugal. Otherwise they are liable to become effeminate, selfish, luxurious, and lastly, greedy and mean-minded. Virtue and valour must then fade, and come to be despised, which would be a great calamity. Should such an abuse once obtain, it will spread like a canker, corrupt even the chivalrous. Dreading such a result, We, some time ago, framed the "Regulations for dismissal"; and being still anxious We address you a caution which We warn you not heedlessly to disregard.

All persons bearing arms are ordered not to neglect the observance of these five rules for one moment; and to their effectual discharge a true heart is necessary. These five articles should express the spirit of the soldiery, and "true-heartedness" is the spirit of the articles. So long as the heart is not true, good speech and good conduct are mere outward show and valueless. On the other hand, anything can be achieved by a true heart. The above five articles expressing, as they do, tenets of universal application should be easy of observance.

IMPERIAL SIGN MANUAL.

January 4th, 1882.

When the above Rescript was issued, the orders were that it should be read by the commanding officer of every regiment and of every ship-of-war to his men at every Sunday morning parade, and for many years these orders were strictly carried out. Now, the formal reading is left to the discretion of the individual commanders of garrisons or fleets, or of regiments or ships, and it is only obligatory on certain great annual festivals, its terms being, it is held, so well known to every soldier and to every sailor, that the universal observation of the original Sunday ceremony is no longer considered necessary. But every officer and man of both services carries a copy of it in his

service pocket-book from which he never parts. The first duty imposed upon him when he joins is to study it and to make himself a master of its contents : he is told to read it frequently and attentively in his leisure hours all through his service, both alone and in company with his comrades, and to follow its precepts faithfully down to the minutest detail in all the conduct of his daily life ; and woe betide the company officer if a single man in his command is found, on the regimental or ship inspection, to be wanting in a proper knowledge of it. It is the Holy Bible of both officers and men, to be most reverently cherished and most loyally obeyed so long as life lasts, and it is cherished and obeyed with an amount of reverence and loyalty far exceeding that given to their Bible in their daily lives or thoughts by our own soldiers or by our own citizens.

The Japanese soldier, ethically trained according to the tenets of the Rescript, physically and professionally trained in accordance with the most modern principles of military science, is inferior to none. He possesses the dash of the Frenchman, the self-reliance of the Englishman, the steady endurance of the Russian, the subjection to discipline of the German, the indifference to death and the insensibility to pain of the Turk. He endures fatigue, hunger, cold or heat without a murmur. He is taught to observe, when in the field, the strictest principles of military hygiene, and he is, above everything, saturated with the most fervent and loyal patriotism, devoted alike to his sovereign, the descendant of the Gods of Heaven, and his country, the divine land, the fairest on earth and the first to be created, which makes him think death upon the field, while fighting his country's battles, the noblest crown of a well-spent life.

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several spheres. The works of the late Lafcadio Hearn, who described in graceful language, with all the genius of a poet, a philosopher, and a keen observer, the country which he loved and the people to whom he gave the best years of his manhood, exceed all others in their faithful delineations of life and thought and in their interpretation of the very soul of Japan, which none of Western race ever knew as he did.

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CHINESE REPUBLIC
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Gulf of Liaotung
Korea
Port Arthur (Ryojun)
Kwantung
Str. of Chili
Wei-hai-wei
SHANTUNG
CHINA
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KWANTOSHU
Chemulpho
Prince Imperial Archip.
KOREA (JAP. CHOSEN)
Broughton Port Lazarev
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Long 126 East of Greenw.
Po-lo Tao
Petermann Pt.
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Kwantung
Dairen
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TSUSHIMA STRAITS
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Hirado
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Kyushu
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TAIWAN OR FORMOSA
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C. Kondo
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